



AKWESASNE NOTES

"WHERE THE PARTRIDGE DRUMS"

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North Country Anvil

OUR CHILDREN



—Federation of Saskatchewan Indians



— Cheryl Walsh/North Country Anvil (Students at Heart of the Earth Survival School, Minneapolis)



How It Is With Us

For the Notice of Our Readers

You may have noticed that the cost of most magazines and newspapers has gone up in recent months. Inflation hits the publishing industry too — and while AKWESASNE NOTES is not a part of the commercial world, we are affected by the inflation.

The cost of printing and mailing has increased about 20%. Second-class postage alone has already gone up more than 100% toward a planned 240% total increase. Cost of photography and office supplies goes up. The price of paper rises almost every week.

Unlike many tribal papers, we have no other means of support than our readers. We maintain an independent voice — no advertising, no government grants, no foundations can pull back on our funds. Our money comes from thousands and thousands of readers, and the paper comes out with the aid of thousands of hours of volunteer labor.

We encourage readers to give what they can at this time.

We know many readers have already helped us most generously. There are others who may have intended to send in their support, but who have not yet done so. We hope all readers will examine their support of NOTES over the last few months, and if it is possible, to send in a check or money order to bring that support up to your own pledge or level. We have another issue scheduled for mid-September — if funds are available.



**AKWESASNE
NOTES**
WHERE THE PARTISANS DRINK

AKWESASNE NOTES is the official publication of the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne (People of the Longhouse) and contains (from time to time) the Longhouse News, the official publication of the Mohawk Nation at Caughnawaga.

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DO YOU HAVE A RED LABEL?

Look at the front page — check your address label. If it is marked in red, this is the last issue you will receive unless we hear from you. We hope you won't be angry — this is the only way we have of cleaning up the mailing list every so often since there are no paid subscriptions.

This month, it is many of those whose zip codes begin with "1" — New York State and Pennsylvania, plus Newfoundland and some European nations, who will have red labels. ALL YOU HAVE TO DO IS WRITE TO US if you are red-labelled, and your name will be re-instated. This is not an appeal for money, although this might be a good time to renew your support.

BLOW THE WHISTLE

After all, the purpose of a newspaper is news. Many people come across important information through their job, through personal knowledge, or accidentally — information which should be made known to native people. Trouble is, it won't get in the paper unless the ones who know about it let us in on the secret. Government and Big Business are becoming more and more secretive, and thus more removed from control of people affected by their activities. Columnists like Jack Anderson, or advocates like Ralph Nader receive valuable information from people who get fed up with things they find in their jobs. They decide to "blow the whistle."

So — if you have news, call us on the telephone at (518) 358-4697. Ask for a writer for NOTES. Information received will be carefully double-checked. Written material can be sent to NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683.

Keep those cards & letters coming, brothers and sisters!
(And thanks to Free For All for the idea.)



This is the house we live and work in.

A greeting to all of you people who help us in so many ways. We are grateful to you all.

— from the people whose full-time lives revolve around NOTES at Akwesasne, including Connie, Doug, Rarihokwats, Karoniaktatie, Pegi (now on furlough), Susie (now in the hospital), Kanatakeniate (at the Sun Dance), Coyote (on r&r in California), Kaherehare, Raosennawane, Kahratohen, Gayle High Pine (visiting in Chicago), Jon Lerner (up at Fort George, James Bay), Francis Estrella (sick in bed), Katsitsiakwa, Debbie House (of the Oneida Nation), Sewan and Celina of the Tewa Nation, Karonhianoron, Dorothy Thomas, Snowbird and Dorothy, Miriam (now on loan to the Bronx), Mickey/Louis/Lang of the tapes crew, Bernadette Chato and Silda Rivas (from Albuquerque), Muriel Fine and Martin Niebauer (visiting from Germany) and to many others in and out during the past six weeks.

TO SUBSCRIBE

There is no fixed subscription price. But that does not mean this paper is free. Printing alone for this issue costs over \$4,000, and typewriters, ribbons, postage, glue, etc., will add another \$1,000 — and that doesn't include costs of keeping full-time staff alive.

Some people have lots of money, others have none. If you want the paper, we'll be glad to send it to you. If you want to help with the costs, we will appreciate that — that's the Indian way. Make it work.

Another issue will be ready for mailing as soon as funds for printing have been received. And since we have no grants, no other sources of finances, we must depend on you, the readers for our survival

HELP US TO DISTRIBUTE AKWESASNE NOTES

... ask your local/college bookstore or newsstand to carry a few copies ... leave some papers at a food co-op, daycare center, workplace, tribal office ... sell the paper on the reservation, at Indian meetings, church, on campus, on the street. We'll send a bundle on consignment and you send us 35 cents for each copy sold. Or order a packet of 6 for \$2 prepaid or 20 for \$5 prepaid. GET THE WORD OUT!



NEEDED FOR NOTES:

- blankets, pillows, sleeping bags
- file cabinets
- portable clothes racks
- sturdy tables and chairs
- used tarps, canvas, rugs
- tools of all kinds
- seeds & roots for planting; perhaps seed houses or nurseries in your area have surplus stock available, including berries, fruit and nut tree seedlings
- lamps
- a ditto machine

Keep Us Strong!

This paper cannot exist without the support of its readers — you, the human beings who read these words. There are many ways you can keep the paper alive and strong:

take action on what you read. Write letters, think, give support, change, lend spiritual help.

send clippings from your local papers. If there is a good photo, try to get a glossy print from the paper's photo department. Date and identify all clippings.

send us your own materials — articles, essays, book reviews, editorials, letters, poems, photos, tapes. All can be returned upon request.

take the responsibility of covering an event for NOTES and send a completed article, or simply information and interviews, in writing, or on tape. We can send a press card upon request.

send us mailing lists — we will send sample copies of the next issue. How about a list of tribal members? addresses from an Indian urban center? of Indian college students?

sell the paper at a powwow, meeting, church, on your reservation, at the Indian center, in bookstores, in town, and on campus. You send us 35 cents for each paper after and if they are sold. Great for consciousness-raising, too. Educate your community.

let us know of people who should have the paper — native people in institutions, friends, anyone who may want to read NOTES.

check at your local city, county, community, university, high school LIBRARIES to see if they have a paid subscription to NOTES. If they don't suggest that they get one. Suggest too that they order books from NOTES to boost their selection of native materials.

form a committee — or go by yourself — to check bookstores, poster shops, gift stores, tobacco shops. If they don't know about our books, crafts, or smoking mixtures, tell them to write — or send us their addresses. Follow up in a month.

You can be a participant in the native causes by helping to spread the word, to create alternatives, to inform. NOTES is a part of that. You can work together with us, from your own area, no matter how far away that might be in miles. Everything in this issue of NOTES came from someone who cared to send it in. And to you all, we are grateful.

We can always use help, but there are specific skills that are needed. People who are unable to help us where we need help may find themselves more a hindrance than a help. It's impossible, though, to know in advance who will fit in and who won't — that's why we just suggest that all people who wish to volunteer their services should make a visit first to check out the situation and see what develops. We need:

— a financial wizard to do the banking, collect accounts receivable, handle purchasing, keep accounts straight, and keep us solvent.

— a typist to do careful fast work on editorial copy, mailing lists, letters.

— a person to keep the mailing list updated and filed correctly.

— maintenance person/carpenter to help build shelves, make repairs.

— writers, to do interviews, research, and put together articles.

— a cook/housekeeper to maintain some order for those now working an 18-hour day to keep the paper going.

— a promotion person to design special mailings, advertise where necessary, and handle distribution of our books, albums, papers, pamphlets, posters.

— speakers, resource people, singers, etc., to accompany the travelling group on tour to reservations and college campuses. A good way to raise support for a cause.

— layout person to design pages, book and pamphlet format, artwork.

We give first preference to people from Akwesasne, then to native people — for that is what the paper is all about. When we are in proper balance and harmony, the assistance of non-native people is also valued — but please, just for those who want to help with the paper. Those seeking Indian husbands or wives, or seeking "help", or wanting to live a quiet life with the Indians — really, this is not the place.

WRITERS! Ever wonder where all the material in NOTES comes from? Someone sends it to us. We notice a lot of writers on Indian subjects sending in material to establishment papers and magazines, and that's cool — but if you want material to reach a wide audience, NOTES can do a pretty good job too. We will receive your written contributions with much thanks.



Kahentineson, Eddie, and Kwahonto

On July 5, three staff members of AKWESASNE NOTES were killed in an automobile accident as they were on their way to the Onondaga Nation for a reading of the Great Law of Peace. Their car was struck broadside.

They are Kahentineson (Lavina Thompson), Eddie Bennett, and Kwahonto (Denise Nanticoke). Susie Boots of the Snipe Clan of the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne, and Jerry Berrevoets, a visitor up from New Jersey for the weekend to help NOTES, were injured. Susie is still hospitalized and is in traction.

Kahentineson was also a Snipe Clan Mohawk from Akwesasne. She had been helping NOTES for several years and recently had been handling the shipping of books and posters. With six older brothers, she was the youngest in the family. She would have been 19 years old a few weeks after the accident.

Kwahonto was a Turtle Clan Mohawk from the Six Nations Reserve. Her father, Lawrence Nanticoke, a Cayuga, has been active in Iroquois Conferacy affairs. She had not been away from home before, but felt that she might find her place with her people by helping NOTES. She had been here only a few weeks before she passed into the Spirit World.

Eddie Bennett, 47, had recently been released from Attica Prison on parole to work at NOTES. In prison, he had had no people — eight years without a letter or a visitor until recent correspondence with NOTES people. But he quickly became involved with Longhouse activities. His mark of greatest pride was an appointment to stay at the Longhouse day and night after the death of an elder for the customary ten-day period, for which he was awarded a gustowah, an Iroquois-style headdress. He had it with him when he died, and the eagle feathers were recovered days later at the roadside.

Eddie and Kahentineson were laid out in the Longhouse until their burial together in the Longhouse cemetery. Denise was buried in the traditional way at Six Nations. We were in mourning for the ten-day period. Then Denise's people came for her, returning her spirit to her homeland, and the Dead Feast was held at the Longhouse at Akwesasne.

We were instructed to let them go on their journey — and to turn our thoughts to the living once again.

For those who remain, the personal loss is a great one. In the small crowded house/office/community center where NOTES is produced, the dozen or so people living there become close. Sometimes the cramped conditions, the chaos of the work, the constant pressures and long hours intensify petty irritations. But with the knowledge that we rely on each other, surviving minor crisis after minor crisis, the bonds between us are strengthened to keep us working to keep NOTES alive and strong.

This loss of our people makes us once more aware of that. They were here — happy and laughing that they were going to this special spiritual activity. They waved as they left — and an hour later came the word that they were no longer alive.

So we give thanks to each other, their brothers and sisters who remain to carry on. We greet each other, and our relatives of the Creation. We give thanks for the renewed awareness that death for each one of us is sure, and we do not know how far away. May that awareness help us conduct our lives so that we are prepared at any moment for the spirit journey.

We give thanks that we are shown the universal cycles of the Creation in this tragedy, and in the renewal of life all around us — the gardens that are to sustain our lives are coming up well. The Strawberry Festival was held just two weeks before the deaths. Children are born. We hope that we gain from our loss strength and closeness and renewed direction and clearer sight of ourselves.

We are grateful to the families of those who have gone now for allowing their loved ones to be away working with us. They have left us all now to take their own journey. Each was very young, in his or her own way, and each of them was really just beginning life. We hope that their journeys to the spirit world are straight and clean and filled with joy, and that they will remember us as we remember them, with love.



During the month, we had another loss. Maxwell Garrow was a retired farmer, a former clerk of the elective system of government at Akwesasne. He believed in Mormon ways, but he believed too in what we were trying to do to keep the people strong and together, self-sufficient. He helped us prepare the land for our gardens, and when we needed more land, he offered his own farm. He was a big man, and we enjoyed his easy humor. He had not been enjoying good health however, and he departed suddenly. Now as we go to our gardens and work his land, refreshed by growing things, we think of him with deep gratitude. Now that he is not here to help us, we have an obligation to carry his share of responsibility to keep the cycles of life moving.

for Lavina,
Denise,
Eddie
& Maxwell

when the old ones die
history is gone/lost/made
all that they know
has been taught
to the younger ones
some has been lost, but
they have guided many
with their words & deeds
& now they are placed
in Creator's hands
to know again their ancestors
we mourn their passing
for we have lost much
we rejoice their passing
for now they have gone
to the Other World
the better place

we rejoice their passing
for now they have gone
to the Other World
the better place

when the young ones die
it is that many less
who can learn
sacred ways
they could have been
great learners, teachers
we will never know
they were young
women of nations
mothers of clans
to raise up chiefs &
decide the course of nations
but all this is gone
all this we will never know
"the bloom has withered away"
all that is sacred
gone
but let nothing
hinder you
now, on your path
to the Creation.

a farmer
a big man
a good & kind man
so much to teach
we had so much to learn
people dont listen any more
cant sit down with open mind
open heart. he yearned for us
the young . . . to carry on
original ways of this land
have faith ongewehonwe
a man with no enemies
a man of the earth
a man who yearned for us, the young
people, with each elder's passing
you'd think we'd learn, to be one
is to be the child who learns
the strong & able ones who protect & provide
the elders who teach
a life without one
is a life incomplete

what is the tall & strong corn
without the many sorts of beans
growing up cornstalks
& what are these without the squash
close to the earth, protecting the roots
a hard, weathered face but so bountiful
in fruit inside . . .

people, let us nourish & protect each other
— Karoniaktatie



International Treaty Council Attended By 3,000 Native Peoples

Mobridge, South Dakota — Nearly 3,000 native people attended the International Treaty Council here June 8-16 in one of the largest gatherings of native people since the Battle of the Little Big Horn.

The conference was convened to formulate strategy aimed at the implementation of the hundreds of treaties between native nations and the United States of America. When the convention was over, an International Treaty Council had been formed to win support from the family of nations of the world, including United Nations recognition.

Participants discussed questions which were simple in phrasing, but with complex answers: what do the treaties mean? why were they broken and how? what do we intend to do about it?

Equally as important was the emotional value of so many solid and committed people in one place at one time. A woman from Standing Rock said that she had thought there were no men left among the nations, but AIM had renewed her faith that there were still some Lakotah willing to fight for their people. "Now that there is a chance for the treaties to be honored," she said, "we will never be silenced."

Traditional medicine people and international lawyers sat side-by-side at the meet. There were delegates from Germany, England, France, and Italy present. They discussed health and education, strip mining and water rights.

The meeting grounds centered around the Chief Gail Resort, owned by the Standing Rock tribal council. The Inn resembles a cluster of tipis with about 50 rooms in circular arrangements around an indoor recreation area, including a swimming pool. A convention center holds about 200 persons, and there is a large camping area nearby. Most people at the conference camped near the inn in tents and trailers. Large "big top" tents were set up for assemblies and food. The Resort was built by the U.S. Government, but the isolated location has meant poor business and the tribal council has contributed about \$300,000 to operate the business so far.

In addition to the treaty business, there was some AIM business as well. Among proposals discussed was one which would abolish national leadership titles on the grounds that they make persons holding them too powerful. However, the top leadership said this was not true, and that local chapters appeared to favor keeping the present national officers instead of holding an election.

Clyde Bellecourt said the titles are needed because they give AIM leaders more opportunity to represent the organization in other areas. "I don't want to hear any more of this jive talk about resigning," Bellecourt said.

Some members also had proposed that the national office recall all AIM membership so that strict standards could be set up, and only persons meeting these standards of conduct would be given membership cards. But Dennis Banks said the consensus appeared to favor a membership review by local chapters.



Robert McLaughlin, treaty consultant for the Standing Rock Tribal Council, was designated as coordinator for the new treaty council.

Specific infractions of treaties by the U.S. dominated most of the discussions of the seven regional treaty councils. Delegates spelled out in detail the continuing losses of land on their reservations, conflicts with non Indians over the use of water, industrial development of sub-surface minerals, continuing failure to uphold health standards, and recitals concerning the problems

with the Indian Claims Commission (ICC), a federal court which since 1946 has arbitrated claims and provided monetary awards to tribes suing for the loss of tribal lands.

Prominent in the discussions was a recent February 15 ICC ruling concerning the Black Hills in South Dakota, for which the ICC ruled the U.S. Government must provide the Sioux about \$17.5-million plus interest for Sioux lands taken in 1877. Sioux participants and others pressed for the rejection of the ICC settlement and resolved to seek a return of the land instead — much of it is in state and national parklands.

"How far can this illegality go?" asked one Oglala man. "The mill of justice is slow. It has turned for fifty years without justice and it is still unresolved. I am a few pages away from the end of the book of my life, but I still want to see justice."

The atmosphere of the treaty conference was that of a summer feast. Most people camped in tipis or tents. Sweat lodges were set up at lakeside for continual use. There was dancing in the evening. There were various ceremonies including a marriage.



Sakokwenonkwes, Bear Clan sub-chief of the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne; Tsiareni, a Choctaw from Mississippi, their daughter, Katsitsahawi at the International Treaty Conference where Sakokwenonkwes was an invited speaker.

But if inside the encampment it was happy and human, outside it was as if war was about to be declared. North Dakota and South Dakota state highway patrols each sent 200 policemen to the area. The BIA sent 75 of its lawmen plus the special BIA "strike squad" — men trained to attack large groups. The South Dakota National Guard were stationed at Camp Grafton and Camp Rapid near Mobridge.

The mood of the participants was one of rejection of any programs smacking of assimilation or integration, and support for independence of native peoples. Nearly everyone spoke about the need for unity among the nations in the quest for sovereignty.

"We're not talking about civil rights," a Lakota man said in a workshop. "We're talking about a very basic human right, the right to our own way of life."

Although AIM leader Vernon Bellecourt said invitations had been sent to South Dakota congressmen and senators, none came to the conference. In fact, Rep. James Abdnor, a Republican, denied he had received any notice of the conference. "I've been very responsive to the duly-elected officials of the reservations and I never had any invitation from them," he said sarcastically.

But if Abdnor didn't get an invitation, he knew of the conference. Early in May, he had called together BIA and Justice Department personnel in Washington to meet with several persons from the Standing Rock area who expressed concern that there would be "an outbreak of violence" during the treaty conference.

Although Abdnor had invited Washington correspondents of South Dakota newspapers to his meeting, he asked reporters for the *Aberdeen American-News* and for Mitchell and Rapid City, South Dakota, newspapers to leave when his constituents objected, saying they feared they would be subjected to violence if their names and comments were reported.

Abdnor praised himself for the meeting, although it seemed to lay the groundwork for the very violence he claimed to be preventing. "I am hopeful that today can be a beginning in avoiding confrontations between militants and law enforcement personnel," he said. Even worse, he added, would be "confrontations between militant demonstrators and those who feel that they must take the law into their own hands to protect their lives and their property."

There was an incident just as the convention got underway, though. Terry Pudwell, the assistant police

chief of nearby McLaughlin — where a policeman is now under Justice Department indictment for alleged brutality to an Indian woman — was shot in the shoulder, by a person, he said, who flagged him down.

Both AIM leaders and police took pains to point out that there was no relationship between the convention and the shooting, although the police obviously weren't too sure. "To our knowledge, there's no connection at this time," was the conditional phrasing of Robert Wills, Walworth County sheriff at a Mobridge command post set up by law enforcement officers for the convention. Wills wouldn't say whether the alleged assailant was an Indian or not — "I can't release that," he said.

The day following the shooting, Pudwell said the man who shot him was an Indian, but was "not an AIM". Later the same day, Pudwell told officials he did not know who shot him. AIM leaders refused to accept Pudwell's statements, and asked for another joint meeting with South Dakota law enforcement officers. Russell Means alleged that Pudwell had shot himself.

True enough, Pudwell confessed on June 11 that the wound was self inflicted. McLaughlin Mayor Harold

Eby said the matter was under investigation, and that he would meet at a later date with the Standing Rock Tribal Council to explain the entire case.

On June 11, it was decided by the security force coordinated by AIM that anyone who was found drunk on the grounds would be tied to a post in the middle of the camp until they sobered up. This measure was taken to augment an already stringent and effective security set-up. Automobiles that came to the reservation were searched, and any booze or drugs were confiscated. Every person, automobile, and piece of press equipment was registered.

Some AIM members warned press people to be sure to explain that this convention "wasn't like the usual American convention with hell-raising and boozing." True, the meeting had the atmosphere of a people fighting for their lives rather than a party. A reporter from *The Nebraska Dispatch* wrote, "As far as I know, there were only three instances of drunk people on the grounds, and one of those was a white man. Each instance was dealt with in a most serious manner, making it extremely apparent that AIM is not the place for undisciplined activity."



With AIM security maintaining this careful check, there was hardly any need for the Government blockades on the roads leading to the conference. AIM leaders John Thomas and Russell Means met with Mobridge mayor James Marin and law-enforcement representatives after state patrolmen started checking drivers' licenses one mile from the conference site. After the meeting, Marin said that all police roadblocks "are down and will remain down."

Regional Treaty Councils Formed

On the first working day, participants divided into seven regions to form Regional Treaty Councils. Each was to consider rights and concerns of peoples in their areas, and to make reports back to the main conference.

About 35 traditional native leaders from various nations spoke during the sessions, as well as seven lawyers versed in American and international law. Sakokwenonkwes, a Mohawk from Akwesasne, told participants, "We have enough time, enough room, and enough power" to accomplish the goals of the conference. "Our council fires burn as brightly as the sun."

Two major themes emerged from the talks — the sovereignty of the Indian nations, and the infractions of treaties by the United States of America.

Richard Falk, a professor of international law at Princeton University, told the conference gathering that the Indian campaign for treaty recognition must be heard in forums where the U.S. Government is "not the only judge, but the object of justice." [See separate section for additional remarks of Falk.]

"Respect for treaties is the minimum consideration of respect for sovereign nations among one another," Falk said. He pointed out that the United States has not always respected international accords to which it had bound itself, citing the Vietnam peace agreements as an example.

Falk has served as counsel for Libya and Ethiopia in a southwest Africa case presently before the World Court. He is vice-president of the American Society of International Law.

Also present as a legal adviser was Joel Carlson, an exiled lawyer from the Union of South Africa, where he was active in aiding African and East Indian people in gaining rights until the apartheid government cracked down. Presently he is a member of the International Commission of Jurists in Geneva, Switzerland, an organization which investigates violations of human rights throughout the world. Carlson is also a member of the executive board of Amnesty International, an organization which seeks freedom for political prisoners everywhere.

William Kunstler, a defense attorney in the Wounded Knee trial in St. Paul, told the conference in an opening-night address, "American Indians entered into almost 400 of what they considered to be sacred unbreakable agreements, only to find that they were just a method of acquiring real estate by fraudulent means."

Aubrey Grossman, San Francisco attorney for the Pitt River people and a long-time champion of native rights, told the conference that although there are a number of legal issues involved in the native struggle for land, the main issue is not legal.

"The main point is to let the government know that Indians are making demands they know they can win," he said. He said the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee marked a turning-point in Indian/Government relations. "For the first time in recent years, the Government has agreed to meet with representatives of Indian nations to discuss the treaties."

The attorney said that he did not think it was unrealistic "to believe in the possibility of winning back land — it is a moral cause and it can be won."

Historian Ed Castillo of the University of California at Berkeley was hopeful in his address to the conference. "Let us not underestimate ourselves. The government wants what we have — our timber, our river valleys. Third World nations in a world court will understand our plight, since they have been ripped off by oil companies and the like."

In the last days of the conference, Dr. Herb Carr announced from the health center at the meeting site that he was treating seven cases of infectious hepatitis, and urged participants to report for gamma globulin shots to protect them from the disease.

After the conference concluded, a caravan moved to Aberdeen to discuss land management and health problems with federal officials in the BIA area office there.

The caravan of 46 cars and two buses was escorted on the 100-mile trip by South Dakota Highway Patrol cruisers.

City officials, including Aberdeen Mayor Jeff Solum, welcomed the caravan when it arrived at the park. They stressed law and order, and offered what services the city could provide. AIM leaders expressed disappointment that BIA and Indian Health Service officials were not on hand to greet the group.

Members of the Aberdeen Ministerial Association also met with the AIM leaders.

When the caravan of some 250 persons reached Aberdeen, only six AIM leaders were allowed inside the Federal Building to meet with area director Wyman Babby, while some 50 other persons remained outside. That meant that instead of discussing issues like health services and welfare, there had to be discussions about recalling the heavy entourage of law enforcement officials dampening the meeting, and gaining permission for the entire encampment to enter into the AIM/BIA discussions.

Many of the AIM members camped in a city park while leadership pressed for a new location for the talks which would allow for greater participation. Commissioner of Indian Affairs Morris Thompson said he would not come from Washington to attend the talks until "certain circumstances" were discontinued.



— M. H. Laraque photo
Standing Rock Sioux Nation land . . . the site of the International Treaty Conference, 1974



—Michelle Vignes photo
Vernon Bellecourt



—Michelle Vignes photo
Leonard Crow Dog



— Michelle Vignes photo
Attorney William Kunstler, left, shares Mother Earth with elders at Standing Rock conference

Thus the conference was moved to the Newman Center on the campus of Northern State College. There, Ted Means asked that the BIA area office provide a breakdown of the law enforcement budget in the Dakotas for the past five years. He also requested that Babby provide figures showing the cost to the BIA of the 71-day occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973.

AIM spokesmen also complained that General Services Administration, which has control of federal buildings, has been violating the civil rights of Indians in Aberdeen. Visitors to the U.S. Federal Building there were not allowed into the building unless they could call an employee and have them come and escort them for official business, although white people were apparently much less hindered.

Nearly 500 persons, including about 200 BIA employees, work at the federal building.

Realizing little success in Aberdeen, the caravan decided to send a ten-person delegation to Washington to see Thompson. John Thomas said the group was being as patient as possible. "I can understand that the BIA

might be unaware of some of the hangups Indians face," he said. "The Bureau is confronted by a lot of bureaucratic white tape, and we understand. But we cannot accept that they must delay their action because of their hangups."

The demands included establishment of a ten-member Indian Justice Commission to investigate complaints of misuse and theft of tribal funds, and an immediate audit of all tribal councils and publication of the audit reports. The group wanted the BIA to initiate civil action against museums that display the bones of Indian people. And it asked that all BIA policemen be required to receive 50 hours of training on Indian beliefs.

As to the request for the Indian Justice Commission, "the Justice Department said it already takes care of those matters, but it is limited in what it can do," Leo J. Wilkie of the Turtle Mountain Reservation in North Dakota said they were told.

"WORKING FOR A GOOD LIFE FOR OUR PEOPLE"

I was asked to talk about the origins of the white man's way of thinking, so we would understand how we're going to go about working for a good life for our people.

Sometimes they say we should go to the school to learn about the "white man's ways", but they never tell us of the white man's traditions. To learn of these traditions, where his thinking comes from, is something that he doesn't even tell his own people. But he has his traditions.

We need to understand what is behind the thinking of these people who sit in Washington, with whom we deal all the time. It's a hard kind of way to think. I don't mean it's difficult — I mean that the people who think that way are a hard people.

We can recognize what it is they are saying by our own experiences. But it is hard to tell from their words, because what they mean and what we think they are meaning are two different things.

Thousands of years ago in Europe, there was a teacher who was the most widely known teacher in the place where he lived. He went by the name of Plato. This man had students — kind of a first university. What he taught his people went a little bit like this. He said that human beings watching what's going on in the world don't see what's really going on. He said it's like a man sitting in a cave, watching the shadows on the wall of what's going on outside the cave. What he knows is from what he sees in those shadows — that's all he knows. But the perfect knowledge comes from the real world which lies outside.

Plato had a student who became another great teacher in his time. That student's name was Aristotle. These people lived in Greece. Aristotle also had teachings for his people. He said that the world is organized between conditions of pure light and pure darkness, and all the world is somewhere on a line between these two conditions. There are things that are pure good, and things that are pure evil. He said that the ones that are purely good are the ones who live in the cities, and these he called the "civilized people," meaning, city dwellers.

He said that in the world on the line between pure light and pure darkness, those who are civilized are on the side of pure light. Those who are barbarians represent the pure darkness. He said that in the world of man, in the forests there are the beasts, and that someplace in the world there would be people who would be like the beasts. He describes those people as not speaking languages that are "civilized", such as Greek. He said they would not have cities or written languages. He said they were born in the world to serve the ones who live in the cities — he called them natural slaves.



A long time went by, and another kind of thing happened in Asia Minor. There arose a teacher, another man. This man told the people that he was the Son of Man, and he told the people that he was to found a new way of living for the people where they would love one another, they would not be greedy, and they would go about the earth in a good kind of way. This man spent forty days and forty nights in the desert seeking a vision.

One thing he did that affects us is that while he was walking on this earth, he went to one of his students whose name was Peter, and said, "Upon this rock, I found this church." And he told Peter to go out and spread the teachings he had given in his lifetime. And the people who followed him said — he didn't say it himself — this man is the Son of God. The people who followed him said that this teacher was the most perfect being who lived on this earth. He was the closest to being a pure spirit, just like the way Aristotle talked about.

Before he left the earth, this teacher told one of his students that he was to go out and he was to teach the other people about it. But he also said that the people should follow the Old Ways. He meant the Old Ways of the Judeans. And one of the things which the Judeans believed was that man was to go out, and he was to have sovereignty over all the things of the earth. He was to go out and to dominate all living things all across the world.

So these people — among whom was a man called Augustine — taught their own people, that living on the earth was one man, and that one man had that charge, and that he was descended from that most perfect



— with thanks to Michelle Vignes for the photo
Sotsitsowah (John Mohawk), Turtle Clan Seneca, speaking at the International Treaty Conference

being that ever existed, and that he held in his hands the sovereignty of the world. And that man was the Pope.

So for a long long time, in Europe, the world was seen to be that way. There was a man on top, and from him, going down to all the people and all the world, was those who followed him. He held life and death over all those people for a long time. And in their families, the man held the life and death and property of his family in his hands. That way of living was called the feudal system. That was in Europe. It is still in Europe.

There came a time some fifteen hundred years after the teaching of that man, who they say gave the sovereignty of the world to the spiritual leaders of Europe, when a man called Christopher Columbus came along. He was one of the most prophetically-named persons in history. Literally, his name means, "Christ-bearing Colonizer". He set sail looking for Japan. He set sail for the west, thinking the world was only half the size it really was. So he landed in the Caribbean Islands and he was seeking two things. He came seeking wealth, and he came seeking power.

The first thing he saw when he landed was the native people of those islands walking about and before he thought of spices or gold or anything else, he thought of the people — slaves. That was the first entry he made in his journal. Shortly after he arrives in North America, hundreds and thousands of Spanish come. They land on the islands, and then they find the mainland — Mexico, Yucatan, Guatemala.

How are they going to get all this gold? How are they going to use this land?

They called the Spanish men who came here "conquistadores". About sixty years after Columbus landed, there was a debate in Spain in the Court of the King of Spain. It was held before a group of men called the Council of the Indies. They had to decide the question, "Is there such a thing as just war?" In that sixty years, the Spanish had come and had conquered. They had come around to the native people, and even before they knew who the people were, they conquered them.

At this time, there was a man who was a teacher at the University of Salamanca in Spain. His name was Sepulveda, and he taught his students about the Indian people. He taught them in this way. He said the Indian people in North America are not really people. He said that they are inferior kind of people, without souls, without intelligence. They do not speak Spanish or Latin. They do not build cities. They do not follow the writings of the Bible. He said that they are dark. They do not educate their children. They kill and eat each other. He said they fit Aristotle's concept of natural slaves — they are, he said, born to serve us, the Spanish.

That is what he told the conquistadores. He said the soldiers had one obligation: when you approach native people, you read to them this statement. You tell them to come forward, and put all their worldly goods, all their possessions, before you. And then, they will present themselves for service to the King of Spain. And he said, if they do not do so, then it is justifiable that they will be killed. It would be "just war". And all who survived that war could be enslaved by force.

He said that the Spanish had the right to take the land of the natives, because the Spanish Christians have a sovereignty that goes all the way back to Christ. He said that not only did the Spanish have the right to take the lands, but that it would be in the "best interests" of the native people to do so. He said that the native people would, in fact, have the better bargain. In return for the small contribution of their lives' labors, they would get the donkey, the horse, the wheat, the rye, the barley. He said the Spanish would bring all the good things of life, and thus the native people should be grateful that they were being enslaved, and that the native people should rush forward that they may serve the Spanish. He said it was God's will that it be done that way.

And of course, all who did not follow God's will would be killed. The Spanish did that. Ten million native people in Spanish America died because they would not put all their worldly possessions in front of the Spanish, because they would not recognize the sovereignty of the Spanish King.

Sepulveda was the world's first modern racist. Racism means a biological explanation of why people act a certain way, and why others are justified in taking what they have.

There was another man at that time. His name was Barthelomew de las Casas. He came to debate on the Indian's side in the debate before the Council of the Indies. He said that the Indians did have souls. He said they live at peace with each other, and that human beings should not be killed. He said that Indians were intelligent enough that they would willingly accept the religion and sovereignty and servitude to the King of Spain. He said the Indians should be persuaded to the Spanish way of life, rather than killing them.

Las Casas, then, was the world's first modern racist liberal.



When the English first came to what is now "New England," the first people they ran into there was the Pequots. The English, too, had a teacher, and his name was Cotton Mather. Once again, the white man and the Indian faced each other, and the white man wanted the Indian land. And once again, Cotton Mather argued that the Indians did not have souls. Thus they could not possess land — they didn't even know enough to divide it up amongst themselves. And because they didn't follow the right way, they were "heathens". Mather said the native people live in darkness and despair, and that they would be better off dead.

This was the argument under which the English all but exterminated the Pequots, and almost the Narragansetts, and many other native nations. Extermination. Many wars went on.

Finally, the United States was born. The United States maintained that it had taken from Spain, France, and England the sovereignty of the kings of Europe, and that it was entitled to exercise that sovereignty.

They argue that in their treaties and their legal briefs. They say the U.S. had gained the sovereignty of the Duke of York and the Crown of England, and they bought some more from France. Now where does that sovereignty come from? The sovereignty under which the Crown of England claimed much of North America comes from its history — since they considered that the native people couldn't own the land, then it could be "discovered" and claimed by a power entitled to sovereignty.

So the King of England got his sovereignty from the Archbishop of Canterbury, and he got it from the Pope, and he got it from Peter, and Peter got it from Christ. That is the European idea of sovereignty. You look around the world, and you will see that there is another idea that still lives on — the idea of darkness and light.

Remember that the dark people are the barbarians, and that just wars can be waged by civilized people who have a just right to the land and the services of their inferiors, the dark-skinned peoples of the earth.

Look into the writings of the first people who created the United States, to George Washington and Thomas Jefferson. The first question which Thomas Jefferson tackled as president of the United States was how to create just wars against the Indians, who are peaceful. That is American history again and again. First send people over into our territory to establish a "frontier." Send the worst of their people to make contact with the Indians, and when there is a fight, justify the war as an act of aggression. Claim the territory, sell it from under them, and when settlers move into their territory and the Indians respond to that, kill the Indians. Just war — they don't own the land, we settlers do, because we have a piece of paper, a sovereign right to claim land.

So again and again, there has been a policy of genocide and racism during the history of the United States. It has been a policy in which the United States Government has said it has the right to claim the land, a God-given right. In the beginning, the U.S. destroyed the people physically, with guns. But when the Indian people laid down their guns, the U.S. had to come up with new ways to destroy the people.

You remember that Cotton Mather said it would be better for the Indians to be dead. In the 1820s, they said it would be better for the Indians to move to the West. They said it would be better to move the Indians east of the Mississippi River to west of the Mississippi River. They said it would be in their own "best interests" and that it would allow them to be with "their own kind." So the first American Indian policy was born: the policy of removal which led to the Trail of Tears.

Over across the Mississippi, it was reasoned, the Indians would have "more time" to become civilized, "more like we are." Over there, they will be all in one place so our missionaries can meet with them. Over there, we won't be bothered with them — and incidentally, we will get their land.

When the policy of removal didn't work because settlers were already pouring into Kansas and Oregon, then they decided we've got to civilize these Indians since they won't fight us and give us the excuse to kill them. So the second great American Indian policy was born, and it was called Allotment.

Even in the Congress, it was said this was the greatest land rip-off ever. But it was also said that it would make the Indian "responsible" for his own land, it would make him civilized, it would bring him up to "our standards", it will make a farmer of him. So land was parcelled out, and most of it was lost. Once again, something was done because it was "good for the Indians" but it turned out better for the white people themselves.

But after the Allotment Act, there was still land left, and some Indians left, although by now not much of either. There were Indians speaking other kinds of languages, and acting in other kinds of ways. The Twentieth Century came, and Teddy Roosevelt was president. Another kind of policy came — this one didn't seem to even get a name, although it is still going on today. It has lots of different names it goes under. "Those Indians live in different kinds of houses — we've got to get bungalows for them." "Those Indians live a different kind of way — we've got to teach them industry." "Those Indians speak different kinds of languages — we've got to teach them to speak ours, and our religion too." "Educate them — take the Indians out of their homes, take them to Eastern school, and they'll learn our concepts. We'll send them back and they'll carry the white man's ways back to their people."

And so they carry back the way the white man looks at the world, those traditions he has but doesn't know about. They will say that the land belongs not to the people, or to the buffalo or to the women, not to the

Creator, but that the earth belongs to the white man, as he is organized in the United States Government, or the Canadian Government.

It's true that way, isn't it? Those people who are most educated in the white man's ways have their allegiance to the white way, back to the Congress, to the President, to the Government. They don't teach us in the school systems the knowledge of the world — they teach us the way they think the world should be organized, and who is boss. That's what they teach in the schools.

They also teach us to be dependent upon them. They teach us to want to live in houses which they create, to have to spend our lives working for them to pay for those houses. They teach us to look to them for our needs and the answers to our problems.



And in the Twentieth Century, we see new projects and policies. One is called the Reorganization Act. There's one right now called Self-Determination. But they're the same policy — to take the Indians away from their traditional leaders and ways and put them in that tradition of leadership that depends on Washington, to put them in servitude to the people of the East, to put them under the heel of the white man. Self-Determination doesn't mean that. Self-Determination means giving elected systems and white-oriented Indians the right to lease the Indian lands, to put the Indians into different kinds of debt causing them to remain in servitude to the white man, always, of course, in his "best interests."

Self-Determination means the right to make certain decisions within the system which the white man created. The present leasing system isn't much different than the Allotment Act of a century ago — white people get to use the Indian land. When the white man uses a word like that, Self-Determination, he has his own definition. He doesn't mean that Indians will live their own way on their own land, or that Indians will be independent and be able to take care of themselves. It means that the Indian will serve the white man in his system.

We hear about "Law and Order" coming to the reservations. But we have to understand their theory of law. At one time, there was just one man who had arbitrary rule and they called him King. They believed that the King had the divine right to rule. Some even claimed to be the sons of gods. They had a debate about this several centuries ago. A man named John Locke argued that men should not have the right to rule, but that laws should rule. He said that legislative bodies should make up the laws, not the rule of kings. Locke also said that the ones who would come to be the legislators, the lawmakers, would be the people who had vested property rights. And it is true in the United States that the people who make the law of the white man are the living breathing human beings who represent oil companies and railroads and coal companies — those are the ones who hold the sovereignty of the world.

They are not Kings anymore — they are corporations and very very wealthy people. That's the way of the white man today.

So we have all these new policies of the 1970s — Self-Determination, Education, Housing, Recreation, Industrialization. They are all the same words — they are all policies to keep Indian people in servitude of those who hold the sovereignty now with those other kinds of names like Exxon, Quaker Oats, Peabody Coal. These kinds of people have more power than the United States as a government. International Telephone & Telegraph (ITT) was able to overthrow a government in South America, it is believed. They are corporate sovereign states with more power than most countries in the world. And they hold much power on our Indian lands.

If we ever had our rights, these companies might not get their coal, their oil, their land.

A long time ago, our people talked in very symbolic ways, the prettiest ways in which human beings talk with each other. They talked in terms of Spider Woman and Coyote and beauty. The white man talks in terms of hydrocarbon molecules, mathematic diagrams, and scientific method, terms which only a few of them understand.

It is a very interesting world that the white man is discovering right now. He is discovering that when the sun comes up in the east, it sets up what he calls

photochemical reactions among the plants and animals, and that the earth acts as a living, breathing, alive thing. The white man is discovering too that there is a limit to the power the white man is using, and that maybe sometime soon he will run out. Oil. Coal. That's how he controls the world. That's where the phantom jets come from. That's where the atom bombs come from. Without that oil, the white man can't eat. 45% of the food produced in this country is produced by oil — oil to clear the land, plow the soil, haul the food. The source of power the white man has is diminishing.

In the next few years, we will stand and watch tens of millions of people dying from lack of food. The world situation of starvation will spread out like a cloud over the face of the world, and sometime the cloud will reach this land. Our Indian people hold the answer to that. It is in the traditional way that we have a source of power that is real. The white man talks about power in terms of guns. But power is what creates life on this earth, and the traditional Indian people know how to use it to survive in North America. The white man had it, but he lost it. The only ones who hold it now here are the traditional Indian people. They know you have to be thankful to the sun for what it grows on this earth.

But if we're going to survive in the thirty years to come when there is no oil, when there are starving people all over then we have to keep and remain close to our lands.

And now we're going to have to see how that will be possible, how we can keep the white man's ways from our borders. How can we keep him from taking everything again? How can we keep his ways from our ways? We have to do more than get our treaty rights, because we have to go to him to get those things — to his people, to his Congress, to his president.

Our best power, the only thing that will give us a small chance, is to change his mind. We've got to use the Indian ways to slow him down, change the way he thinks. Maybe sometimes we have to go to court — I don't know, that's up to the individual nations. Maybe sometimes we have to go to the papers. Maybe sometimes we have to teach our own people. Maybe sometimes we have to attack it in a spiritual kind of way. Maybe sometimes we have to use other kinds of ways — but we have to use every kind of way we can think of to make him stop taking our land.

We're going to disagree among ourselves about how we're going to stop him. This one will have this idea, this one that idea. Everyone will have his own idea. We won't get together. Some will join the white man, some will run from him, some will stand and fight, some will go to his court, some will take up his religion. That's our history. But this time we have to understand we have to fight in every way we know how. We've got to use every possible way.

Our first thing, though, has to be to go back to our traditions — that is the place where we will be of one mind. When we walk away from our traditions, we become confused. So when our confusion comes, we will have to turn to our traditions to hold our people together. But then when our brothers in one part of the country are fighting in one kind of a way — even if that's not the way we might choose to fight — we have to support them.



One of the things that gets lost a lot of the time is that Indians run all over the country saying "We want this," and "We want that." But a lot of the things we say we want, the white man doesn't have. Especially self-sufficiency: you have to do that yourself. We can't get that from someone else.

Or maybe Indians say we want our languages back. But the white man doesn't have our language. We say we want the white man to give us our spirituality back — but he doesn't seem to have our religion, either. It's

true he's trying to get us not to have it. It's true he tries to destroy it. But he doesn't have the power to give it back.

We talk about what we like — but we don't understand all the things that come along with it. We say we want sovereignty — but that means we have to be fairly self-sufficient, and that in turn means we have to live without a lot of the white man's things. And that's where our spiritual knowledges come in — they tell us how to live. It's in our religion. So in order to have this sovereignty, we have to have our self-sufficiency and our spirituality.

We can't have the best of two worlds — you don't get the best when you try for two worlds; you usually get the worst.

Now for the talk about treaties, we talk about what the white man is doing to us and that's useful in educating our people. But we're not going to get our lands back until he's gone and we're going to be gone with him if we're like him. If we want to survive and to enjoy our country and to secure a good life for our own children, then we have to see with a good mind and understand each action we take.

"DO NOT PLACE HOPE IN THE LEGAL SYSTEM — IT ORIGINALLY ACCOMPLISHED THESE INJUSTICES."

(Richard G. Falk, a professor of international law at Princeton University, was one of the legal experts who addressed the International Treaty Conference. These are excerpts from his speech.)

These discussions . . . are a great step forward for the Indian people because I think that these treaty issues cannot be solved unless the Indian Nations co-operate with one another and develop what is a national movement to achieve these results.

I think that it is important to establish that there has been fraud and deception in the original treaties and that your legal arguments are powerful, and if they are accepted, would lead to the vindication of your claims. But you should understand that your legal arguments have always been that — and everyone including the white man and the United States Government has understood that. The Supreme Court has said on numerous occasions that it understood that those treaties were being violated at the very time they were solemnly entered into.



So what I am trying to say is that you must not place much hope in the legal system that perpetuated these wrongs, that imposed these wrongs, as being willing now to turn around suddenly and do justice, because it is the same legal system that originally accomplished these injustices. It is for this reason that in addition to a national movement, what seems most important is to bring these treaty disputes between nations to the level where they belong — that is, to the level of global concern, world concern.

"A GREAT VICTORY WAS WON AT WOUNDED KNEE — IT SHOWED INDIAN PEOPLE CAN GET THEIR NATIONS BACK"

(Aubrey Grossman, a San Francisco attorney who has been active in the Pitt River cause and other native legal matters, addressed the International Treaty Conference. These are excerpts from his speech.)

When I was asked to represent the Indians on Alcatraz just before they landed, I had never talked to an Indian. I knew nothing about Indian history. They didn't get arrested as they thought they would, so here I was, a lawyer without anything to do. So I decided to find out why they were there. I found out they were there because a continent was taken from them, and they were using this as a means of fighting back.

I made the mistake of convincing myself after talking to them and doing a little reading that it was possible for them to get back, not all their land, but a good deal of it. Having convinced myself that it was possible and that they had a legal case, I had no choice. Being able to find no other lawyers who thought it was possible — even though they thought it was legally correct for the Indian people

They are disputes among nations that are a concern to people who have been deprived everywhere in the world, and we are living in a time when the people who have suffered from colonialism and repression and injustice are finally beginning to assert their rights in the world. And it is therefore important, as Russell Means has said, to bring the case that you have into international forums, to bring it to the attention of those Americans who believe in a just and decent solution to the problems that have confronted the Indian people.

I would not place an early emphasis on going to the World Court because it is a very conservative institution that is basically controlled by the colonial powers in the world. It has very expensive procedures that are very complicated and very difficult to gain access to, and therefore I believe that a much more important emphasis should be on the political forums that are concerned with the problems of dependent peoples, of national self-determination, of human rights, of genocide, of problems of colonialism, and that these forums are available in the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, the Organization of American States to some degree, and in many other arenas within the world today.

I believe that if you develop strong planes of injustice and exploitation in these forums, you will find that there are many powerful allies of the Indian people throughout the world [who] can help you and [who] can create even in this country much more understanding and public opinion willing to compel the legal system and to compel the Government to rectify the wrongs that have been done. I hope that in setting up an all-Indian treaty commission . . . that you will keep this general kind of emphasis in mind and won't have unrealistic hopes that the present legal order is going to be able to solve these problems.

to get back their land — I had no choice. While I had discussions between me and my conscience, I had no choice, I had to get involved.



It made me extremely happy that following Wounded Knee, a great victory was won, showing that it was possible not only for Indians to get their land back, but also the related question that it was possible for Indian people to get their Nations back and their sovereignty back. I was so happy to read that the Government was compelled to sit down with Indian chiefs and Indian Nations and discuss whether the Government had violated the 1868 Treaty or not.

We talk about the Two Row Wampum, the two canoes going down the same river together, but the Indians staying in their boat, steering their own destiny. Some Indians though have the idea that if they want something from the white man's boat, all they have to do is reach over and grab it. But you know what happens to someone who reaches too far — they usually upset their own canoe.

Those who call themselves "progressive Indians" go away to these conferences and when they come home they have a program for alcoholism, and a program for drug abuse, and a program for this problem and for that problem — but really, it's all the same problem. It's all the same thing in one. We won't get things changed unless we start with whole things: the individuals, the families, the clans, and the nations. We have to rebuild everything from the ground up.

We talk sometimes idealistically. We can tell what it is that is happening bad for us. But there are some real common sense questions — like if you want to have a good life, you can't be a drunk. If you want to be true, you can't work for someone else. When we sit over here and say, "Well,

now, we're going to try to get this land or this right back," sometimes we're way ahead of ourselves. Maybe when we're ready to get something, we're going to get it.

For example, at our reservation, we say, "We ought to raise up [traditional] chiefs." So we want to raise chiefs. Good idea — we should do that. But we have very few people around who really know enough to be good chiefs. So we have to start someplace else. So where do we start? With religion. So first we have to have the right idea, and then we have to take the right action.



It will be important to be together as we are here at this convention. It's a good feeling, to see these, the healthiest people in North America. It's pretty. I like it. I feel good here. From here on, we'll be able to go out and do these things together. Only a few years ago, there was no one around thinking about holding the people together, no one around to think about holding our lands. And now they're here, and I feel good about that. I'm going to support AIM in any way I can.

"THE MORE INDIAN CIVILIZATIONS BECOME ALIVE AGAIN, THE MORE IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO LIVE A NEW LIFE"

(Robert Jaulin, a French anthropologist highly critical of many of his colleagues, addressed the group on why it was important for him, a European white man, to support the American Indian movement.)

The French Committee of the American Indian Movement exists for several reasons. Some of us have been living among Indian tribes of South America. We knew the high quality of the civilization of those Indians, the high quality of their human relationships — relation of man with man, man with the world. The more we knew of this quality, the more we have opposed the stupidity and criminality of the white society. And so we have been struggling to stop the destruction of South American Indian tribes.

But struggling in that way, it appeared that the struggle needed to be more general, extended on the Indian side, and extended on the white side.

On the Indian side, nations have to refuse clearly the white way of life, to fight against white uncivilization, and get together to protect each other and to rebuild Indian civilizations.

The fight must also be led on the side of the white people. One of the main conditions of success of Indian struggle must be the start of this other struggle among the white people — led by himself, against himself.

Putting it another way, one of the main conditions of the struggle of white people against the white uncivilization is the struggle of Indian people against the white uncivilization, and the struggle of Indian peoples within themselves to stop the destruction and death of their civilizations, and to rebuild this civilization.

One of the main reason for the French AIM Committee is this struggle of white people against white uncivilization. From this point of view, we support you because first you support all of us.

Why such a struggle? Civilization is not one — there are several. Life has many faces, but uncivilization has one — like death.

The uncivilization is today white. Still today — although it has been that way for thousands of years. We don't know where she came from; we just know how she conquered Europe, then America, Africa, a part of Asia.

But where the uncivilization comes from is perhaps not the problem, because non-civilization is from nowhere. She has no color, no skin, no wind, no earth, no place. She breaks down any relationship between man and man, between man and the world. She breaks any relations because she turns them negatively.

She builds a man without a universe, a non-world. She destroys the human world, the world of life. She builds a stupid and criminal civilization. Of course, you know the American way of life — such a path tends to go everywhere.



You are struggling for your civilization against the uncivilization.

White people are today so destroyed, so uncivilized, that they cannot and do not know how to struggle for their own civilization. They will have to create their civilization — if it's not too late. To create it, they have first to fight against the non-civilization in which they exist like happy idiots or angry dead.

Such a struggle is possible if the destructive movement is stopped, if colonial extension, the conquest of the planet, the funeral march of Western man is broken. In that way, the renewal of Indians civilization has a political value, and is an international example. For all of us, this is a very important help.

That is why we will back you in your struggle. The more Indian civilizations become alive again, the more it will be possible to live a new life again, with new faces, to rebuild the little that is left from the Old European civilizations, the little that is left from human civilizations anywhere, and the more it will be possible to invent and create new ways of civilization.

The rebirth of the Indian world, to me, is one of the most important actions that humanity is today giving proof.



DECLARATION OF CONTINUING INDEPENDENCE of the First International Indian Treaty Council at Standing Rock Sioux Indian Country

A long time ago, my father told me what his father told him. There was once a Lakota Holy Man called Drinks Water, who visioned what was to be; and this was long before the coming of the Wasicus. He visioned that the four-legged were going back into the earth, and that a strange race had woven a spider's web all around the Lakotas. And he said, "When this happens, you shall live in barren lands, and there beside those grey houses, you shall starve." They say he soon went back to Mother Earth after he saw this vision and I was sorrow that killed him.

—Black Elk, Oglala Sioux Holy Man



PREAMBLE

The United States of America has continually violated the independent Native Peoples of this continent by Executive action, Legislative fiat, and Judicial decision. By its actions, the U.S. has denied all Native People their International Treaty Rights, treaty lands, and basic human rights of freedom and sovereignty. This same U.S. Government which fought to throw off the yoke of oppression and gain its own independence has now reversed its role and become the oppressor of sovereign Native People.

Might does not make right. Sovereign people of varying cultures have the absolute right to live in harmony with Mother Earth so long as they do not infringe upon this same right of other peoples. The denial of this right to any sovereign people, such as the Native American Indian Nations, must be challenged by truth and action. World concern must focus on all colonial governments to the end that sovereign people everywhere shall live as they choose, in peace with dignity and freedom.

The International Indian Treaty Conference hereby adopts this Declaration of Continuing Independence of the Sovereign Native American Indian Nations. In the course of these human events, we call upon the people of the world to support this struggle for our sovereign rights and our treaty rights. We pledge our assistance to all other sovereign people who seek their own independence.

The first International Treaty Council of the Western Hemisphere was formed on the land of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe on June 8-16, 1974. The delegates, meeting under the guidance of the Great Spirit, represented 97 Indian tribes and nations from across North and South America.

We, the sovereign Native Peoples recognize that all lands belonging to the various Native Nations are clearly defined by the sacred treaties solemnly entered into between the Native Nations and the government of the United States of America.

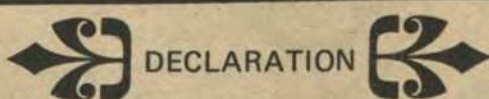
We, the sovereign Native Peoples charge the United States of America with gross violations of our International Treaties. Two of the thousands of violations that can be cited are the "wrongfully taking" of the Black Hills from the Great Sioux Nation under the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868. The second violation was the forced march of the Cherokee People from their ancestral lands in the State of Georgia to the then "Indian Territory" of Oklahoma after the Supreme Court of the United States rules the Cherokee treaty rights inviolate. The treaty violations, known as "The Trail of Tears," brought death to 2/3 of the Cherokee Nation during the forced march.

The Council further realizes that securing United States recognition of treaties signed with Native Nations requires a committed and unified struggle, using every available legal and political resource. Treaties between sovereign nations explicitly entails agreements which represent "the supreme law of the land" binding each party to an inviolate international relationship.

We acknowledge the historical fact that Independence of the People of our sacred Mother Earth have always been over sovereignty of land. These historical freedom efforts have always involved the highest human sacrifice.

We recognize that all Native Nations wish to avoid violence, but we also recognize that the United States Government has always used force and violence to deny Native Peoples basic human and treaty rights.

We adopt this Declaration of Continuing Independence, recognizing that struggle lies ahead, a struggle certain to be won, and that the human and treaty rights of all Native Nations will be honored. In this understanding, the International Indian Treaty Council declares:



DECLARATION

The United States Government, in its Constitution Article VI, recognizes treaties as part of the Supreme Law of the United States. We will peacefully pursue all legal and political avenues to demand United States recognition of its own Constitution in this regard, and thus to honor its treaties with the Native Nations.

We will seek the support of all world communities in the struggle for the continuing independence of Native Nations.

We the representatives of sovereign Native Nations unite in forming a council to be known as the International Indian Treaty Council to implement these declarations.

The International Indian Treaty Council will establish offices in Washington, D.C., and New York City to approach the international forces necessary to obtain the recognition of our treaties. These offices will establish an initial system of communications among Native Nations to disseminate information, getting a general consensus concerning issues, developments, and any legislative attempts affecting Native Nations by the United States of America.

The International Indian Treaty Council recognizes the sovereignty of all Native Nations and will stand in unity to support our Native and international brothers and sisters in their respective and collective struggles concerning international treaties and agreements violated by the United States and other governments.

All treaties between the Sovereign Native Nations and the United States Government must be interpreted according to the traditional and spiritual ways of the signatory Native Nations.

We declare our recognition of the Provisional Government of the Independent Oglala Nation, established by the Traditional Chiefs and Headmen under the provisions of the 1868 Ft. Laramie Treaty with the Great Sioux Nation at Wounded Knee Mar 11, 1973.

We condemn the United States of America for its gross violation of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty in militarily surrounding, killing and starving the citizens of the Independent Oglala Nation into exile.

We demand the United States of America recognize the sovereignty of the Independent Oglala Nation and immediately stop all present and future criminal prosecutions of sovereign Native Peoples. We call upon the conscionable nations of the world to join us in charging and prosecuting the United States of America for its genocidal practices against the Sovereign Native Nations, most recently illustrated by Wounded Knee, 1973, and the continued refusal by the United States of America to sign the United Nations 1948 Treaty on Genocide.

We reject all executive orders, legislative acts and judicial decisions related to Native Nations since 1871, when the United States unilaterally suspended treaty-making relations with Native Nations. This includes, but is not limited to, the Major Crimes Act, the General Allotment Act, the Citizenship Act of 1924, the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, the Indian Claims Commission Act, Public Law 280, and the Termination Act. All treaties between Native Nations and the United States made prior to 1871 shall be recognized without further need of interpretation.



This photo was taken when the Great Sioux Nation and the United States of America signed the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty. Representatives of the nations gather in friendship, pledging the honor of their people.

We hereby ally ourselves with the colonized Puerto Rican People in their struggle for Independence from the same United States of America.

We recognize that there is only one color of Mankind in the world who are not represented in the United Nations. And that is the indigenous Redman of the Western Hemisphere. We recognize this lack of representation in the United Nations comes from the genocidal policies of the colonial power of the United States.

The International Indian Treaty Council established by this conference is directed to make application to the United Nations for recognition and membership of the sovereign Native Nations. We pledge our support to any similar application by any aboriginal people.

This conference directs the Treaty Council to open negotiations with the Government of the United States through its Department of State. We seek these negotiations in order to establish diplomatic relations with the United States. When these diplomatic relations have been established, the first order of business shall be to deal with U.S. violations of treaties with the Native Indian Nations, and violations of the rights of those Native Indian Nations who have refused to sign treaties with the United States.

We, the People of the International Indian Treaty Council, following the guidance of our elders through instructions from the Great Spirit, and out of respect for our sacred Mother Earth, all her children and those yet unborn, offer our lives for our International Treaty Rights.

June 16, 1974

"We've Got To Have Commitment So Strong...."

(Prior to the International Treaty Conference, the American Indian Movement held a meeting in Cumberland, Wisconsin, to work out its directions, internal strengths, and to set priorities. There, John Trudell, national chairman of the American Indian Movement, spoke on changes which must take place within the movement and AIM if change was going to come about in the lives of native peoples. This is an excerpt from his speech.)

When we talk about discipline for the American Indian Movement, commitment is just about the number one thing to think about.

We've got to have commitment so strong that when we get mad at each other, we overlook it.

We've got to have commitment so strong that we don't take no for an answer.

We've got to have commitment so strong that we will not accept their rhetoric and lies for an answer.

We've got to have commitment so strong we will live and we will die for our people.

We've got to start thinking in terms of love. We get caught up in hating the white man for what he's done to us. And that hate shows; it shows internally in our own organization. We start playing the white man's games. We say we're out for the good of Indian people, but internally if we don't like what someone does, we start backstabbing. We start calling names; we start criticizing. We never come out in the open and talk to the individual or to the people we're displeased with and confront them with how we feel. We go around and agitate and try to build support amongst ourselves.

Sometimes I question — does the white man oppress us, or do we oppress ourselves?

I wonder about "respect". We speak of respect, we use the word many times, but then we go and pour alcohol in our bodies — we don't respect our bodies when we do this. We slip ourselves some acid — we don't respect our minds when we do this. We rip off from each other — we don't respect our brothers when we do this. We do not respect our brothers when we talk about them behind their backs.

These are things we have to start thinking about. We have many complaints and many grievances against the white man and against the Bureau of Indian Affairs and against the state. We've got to understand things like colonialism. We've got to understand the processes which the white man uses to exploit and keep us under his thumb.

Colonialism — that means that the white man came to our country and he took our land away from us and put us into reservations where he continues to exploit our resources and our lives. That's colonialism.

It's where we have white bosses and white landlords who come down to our communities and look good while we sit there hungry and sit there without our rights. That's colonialism.

Colonialism is when the Bureau of Indian Affairs is run by white people up in the Interior Department. And they get fat and they get rich and they keep us disoriented and they keep us at each other's throats. They keep us from gaining the working knowledge and the working experience we need to control our lives again. That's colonialism.

Our enemy is not the United States. Our enemy is not the individual white man. Our enemy is the collective white man. Our enemy is the American state. The American state is the corporations and the corrupt politicians that are selling us out. These are the enemies.

The collective white man sits back and allows this to happen. He is our enemy. You know, when we're going to deal with the truth, the white man is going to have to accept this, because if there is ever going to be peace, love and understanding between the races, he's got to understand that he is in the wrong.

It was white people who created Capitalism. It was white people who created Communism. It was white people who created mission schools. It was white people who created jails. It was white people who robbed our land and it was white people who sat back in the corner and allowed their government to do it. And then they come to us and talk of love and brotherhood.

They sell us guns and make money off us. They use us. It's something to understand — they've got us set up so they can play on our fears, they can play on our emotions. You know what happened in South Dakota in the courtroom [during the Custer trials in Pierre in May] — they planned that. They wanted that to happen. That was not a spontaneous thing. They wanted to teach us a lesson — they think they can still teach us a lesson with their clubs and their guns and their Bibles. But you look at the overall strategy, they are using our spirit and our determina-



John Trudell . . . National AIM Chairman

tion because they want to isolate us. They want to make us like the SLA. They want to make us like the Black Panthers. They want to make us like the Weathermen. They want to make us like the SDS.

It was white people who sent us guns — guns that get us killed. It is my feeling that when Wounded Knees happen, and the white man is on our side, he should pick up these guns himself and he should go into the communities and he should fight the white man himself.

They want to isolate us from our communities, and they do this by calling us names. And they do this by coming in with their clubs and beating us and they come in with their guns and their fragmentation bombs and they shoot and they cause destruction, and they make our communities afraid of us because they want to isolate us.

They do not want us to talk about freedom. They do not want us getting white people to talk about freedom. They do not want black people to think about freedom. They don't want our own people to think about freedom. So they use violence, they use destruction, they intimidate, they try to tell us that they have power.

They have no power — they have guns, they have bombs, they have their laws, they have methods and tools for destruction. But that is not power.

Power comes from the people.

Power comes from knowledge.

Power comes from love for the people.

Power comes from solidarity.

Power comes from not fighting each other.

Power comes from standing for the issues that we believe in.

Power comes from believing in our right to live.

That is the power. We have the power. All we've got to do is put it together. But we do not have to take this crap from these white people. But we're going to have to continue to put up with it until we can put ourselves together.

That's the biggest contradiction that I see in the American Indian Movement — that we don't respect each other. We say we do, but we don't act. There's two kind of languages — the language that comes out of our mouths, and the language of our actions. In the white man's world, these two languages have been separate. Sometimes I see it happening to us — we seek one thing, and then do another. You know, as long as we do this type of thing, we'll always be disoriented.

I hear a lot of talk about legal aid, and about laws. I don't see much hope depending on the white man's laws. I don't see much hope in depending on the white man to be understanding. He is not going to change. His technology has changed, but his civilization hasn't. The white man's civilization always has been creating a government, and making the people subservient to that government. That has always been his civilization.

Now they come here. They no longer use cross bows. They no longer wear iron suits. But the corruption is the same. The violence is the same. The manipulation of the people's minds is the same.

Anytime they come out and tell us these things take time. Well, I tell you in 1876, when the American Government was celebrating its first one hundred years anniversary, they had problems with the blacks. They had problems with the Indians. They had corruptions and graft in administration. They had women out seeking their rights. The difference between 1876 and 1974 is that now you can see it on TV. Now you can come to a microphone and tell us about it. The technology has changed, but the system is the same.

We must not be fooled by them. We must condition our minds and our souls and our spirits to say "No!" — the loud collective voice of "No!" from the people. That is the only way we are going to be able to reason with them. We must tell them "No! No! NO!!!"

And when we tell them "no" we can't be drunk. That's the biggest damn problem we have is being drunk. How much money do we take and spend on alcohol? How many times are we helpless to defend someone because we're drunk? They kick our kids out of school, but we cannot collectively deal with that because too many of our people are drunk.

Alcohol — that's the number one weapon against the Indian people.



A hundred years ago, seventy years ago, they started pulling the soldiers out of sight and started pumping the alcohol to us. They have used it against us since the first white man set foot on this land.

They have taken our religion, they are taking our children, they are taking our culture, they are taking our land, they are taking our language — and they're giving us alcohol and we're accepting it.

Alcohol is becoming the new god of the Indian people. Alcohol is becoming the new way of life.

It is only we who can change this.

We oppress ourselves.

Maybe we listen to their lies because we don't want to deal with the truth. If we want to talk about revolution, if we want to talk about freedom, if we want to talk about humanity and people's rights, we're going to have to deal with the truth.

The truth is the truth — and we're going to have to recognize it. We're going to have to understand it. We're going to have to learn to work with it. And when that truth hurts us, then we're going to have to sit down and evaluate ourselves.

No one is above the truth. No one is above being criticized. Too many times within our own organization, that's the biggest problem we come up with — we're too good to be criticized. We're too good to be humble. We're too good to express love. We want to show that we're free, but we want to fight each other. You know, that's getting us no where.

I don't like to see name calling and accusations. I don't like to see people shooting at each other in the movement. You know, we're only helping one race of people when we do that — we're helping the white man. And he likes to see it.

You know, I don't buy this crap that Indians have always fought and can't get along. This has been our land for thousands and thousands of years. We lived here and we survived. We couldn't have lived and survived and been in harmony with nature if we were as warlike as they say we were. Too many times we listen to them.

I'd like to see all the white nations of the world sit down and form one way to communicate. You see, they can't. English has to be the dominant language. That shows that there is a warlike philosophy, a violence in their humanity. We had the sign language. They call it primitive. But it was more advanced than anything that they ever had, because it respected the individual languages of the individual tribes. And warlike people would not have devised a language that the people used to communicate from coast to coast. They tell us things, and too many times we get sucked into believing them.

When Europeans first came here, we showed them how to live. We showed them how to survive. We gave them their economy, and they were peaceful to us. They were nice, because they did not know how to live here. Once they found out how to live here, then they started killing us. Then they started stealing our land. Then they brought the black man in to get him to farm and cultivate their land. Then they started their lies and their history of repression and oppression of the native indigenous people of this land.



Now they take us and pump us through their schools to listen to this and they tell us we are free. They say we live in a democracy. They tell us we've got human rights. And they get us to believe it.

They create the illusion of freedom because they create a civil rights bill that says you have certain rights. We know we have these rights. But why can't we send our kids to school with long hair? Why can't we put our people in to decide what our education is going to be? We cannot decide what our religion is going to be — we can't get our religion recognized.

There is no freedom in this country unless you are extremely rich — or unless you have liberated your own self. That's where freedom comes.

They want us to be intimidated. They want us to be overwhelmed by their numbers, and by the tools of violence and destruction that they have. But these are not our concerns at this time — our concern is our own selves. What are we going to do with ourselves? Are we going to be able to accept criticism? Are we going to be able to stop ripping each other off? Are we going to be able to stop spending all our money on booze and a good time? Are we going to be able to stop stabbing our brothers in the back because we don't agree with what they say?

We should express our opinion. When we express our opinions, we should not be mad and want to jump on each other's backs. We should accept the fact that we are all together, and we all believe the same thing.

Our number one priority must be the brotherhood of the native American sovereign people.



(In a separate statement, John Trudell discusses the movement of native peoples and the media.)

The Government couldn't shoot us down in the streets like they did the SLA — last year the Gallup poll showed we had more support than Richard Nixon. So they take us and call us names. They use the law against us. The Government doesn't care if their case holds up in court or not — they've got nothing to lose. They use this as a means of tying us up in court, of destroying our credibility in our own communities and in the white community.

We're talking about treaty issues. How come the press hasn't sat down and analyzed the treaties? How come the press hasn't examined the economic status of Indian people today? How come the press hasn't analyzed the corruption that goes on in tribal government? The press responds to sensationalism when we try to bring an issue out.

Why is the press here today? Looking for sensationalism. The press has enough work to do if it just looked at the issues the American Indian Movement has brought up in the past. But how many press people know anything about treaties? How many press people even know about the Constitution of the United States, if you want to get right down to it. The Constitution says that all treaties will be held on the same level as the constitution.

The press should be exposing why the Government is trying to commit genocide on us. If the United States Government was made to honor all treaties, what jurisdiction would the town of Rapid City fall under? Pierre? The treaties are law. There are five kinds of law: common law, criminal law, statute law, constitutional law and treaty law. All right — treaty law is the highest, because it is between sovereigns. The treaty is an international thing — it is higher than the United States law. And yet the United States keeps breaking it.

How does that fit into strip mining and the so-called energy crisis? How does violating the treaties fit into that kind of system? How does corruption through the political system of America affect the Bureau of Indian Affairs? No one questions these things. The press gets too interested in saying, "The Indians had four .22s and an AK-47 and a sawed-off shotgun."

Like at Wounded Knee — we had a lot of press there. But after AIM was gone, after we moved into the courtroom situation, there is no press there. The oppression is the same in Pine Ridge, the corruption is

still there, but you don't see the press there. Everytime AIM gets together, the number one question we get from the press is, "Is there going to be any violence?" Like we can control that type of situation!

In the media, it is insinuated that we are the violent ones. But I'll tell you right now, we didn't invent no tear gas, no napalm, no hydrogen bombs, no Tac squads. We didn't invent the violent tools — we react to violence. We get manipulated.

I know one of the questions raised about Wounded Knee was, "Did AIM manipulate the press?" But I have yet to see anyone sit down and analyze how the Federal Government is manipulating the press. Radio and TV are supposed to be serving community interests — that's FCC law. But whose needs do they meet? The needs of the people, or the needs of the sponsors? The whole thing has been corrupted and turned around. The media has a job and duty and obligation to expose what the facts happen to be.

See, all these things that affect us will sooner or later affect the white man. The same way the FBI is lying about us in the courts will be the way they will lie about American citizens in the future, because they got away with it with us.

I'd like to see the press devote some time to understanding the issues we're talking about and forget about the sensationalism for a while. Hell, we can't build our whole lives around your sensationalism. You've got natural sensationalism in a case history about strip mining on Indian lands. You've got natural sensationalism in the resources taken from lands illegally taken from us. The media has a duty, as far as I'm concerned, to inform the public about what is going on. It is not the media's duty to write on one sensational issue after another.

That's one of the biggest problems in America today — you use things like radio and television for the wrong purposes. It doesn't serve anybody but sponsors. They use radio and television to destroy people's own values in themselves. They use radio and television to tell you you can't get a woman without using some roll-on deodorant or driving a new GTO.

I would like to see objectivity — we don't care if the press criticizes us, but we would like to see the press criticize the other side too, the side that needs criticizing. We don't have any reason to lie — the truth stands out on its own. Truth is the greatest weapon the American Indian Movement has got. Truth is spiritualism itself. I felt bad after the Wounded Knee thing because I felt we had been sold out. We had been manipulated by the feds, and the press had been manipulated by the feds. But we recognized that, but the media never did. Even now, the only way we can get coverage on the trials in St. Paul is if they think something sensational is going to happen in court.



Look at what happened when some cop got shot over here in McLaughlin [South Dakota] the other day. Immediately, what we hear on the media is, "There is no definite link between the shooting and the American Indian Movement." That's your link right there. What kind of objective reporting is that? If an Indian gets shot by a white man, you never read, "There is no definite link between the shooting and the Veterans of Foreign Wars."

That's all I've got to say.

Ganienkeh - "Land Of The Flint"

(Last May, a group of Mohawks from Caughnawaga occupied an area of land in the Adirondacks, there to establish a beachhead for a reconstituted Mohawk nation. The occupation continues, and the group there is working on its winter food and shelter needs. This is the first part of a manifesto issued by the occupation group describing its goals and purposes.)

Ganienkeh - "Land of the Flint" - ancient homeland of the Mohawk Nation, whose descendants, with traditional natives from other Indian nations, are moving back to repossess their natural heritage. Other native nations throughout the world have regained their lands and governments. The North American traditionalists are sure that the Government of the United States and its general public shall see the justice and the rights of the American Indian people to such a move.

According to the rights accorded everyone else in the world, the Red Man shall exercise his proven government and society according to his culture, customs and traditions. According to the rights of the human, he has the right to operate his state with no interference from any foreign nation or government. Here the people shall live according to the rules of nature. Here the Great Law of the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy shall prevail. The people shall live off the land. The co-op system of economy shall prevail. Instead of the people competing with each other, they shall help and cooperate with each other. Here they shall relearn the superior morality of the ancients.

It is not a backward step. The way to a proper, moral government, a practical and worthy economic system, and a proper, moral human relationship is true progress. What is regarded as progress in this day and age is a road to destruction. Advanced technology abuses nature. The result has been the pollution of air, land, water, and the human mind. A brief reflection reveals how abused nature repays in kind. The competitive society breeds frenzy, panic, and tension. Under such a strain, the human mind breaks down. The continued abuse of nature shall result in the complete mental, physical, and social breakdown of the competitive society. The main objective of human intelligence should be the peace and happiness of mankind of earth, not the profits saturation of a few tycoons and the worship of an advanced technology. This kind of progress has brought the world to the brink of destruction.



Let there be an appreciation of nature. Ganienkeh calls all native American Indians who wish to live according to their culture, customs, and tradition. Traditional Indians who answer the call and participate in the project shall be asked to prepare to meet unusual situations. Indians lived a million years without money and technology. They lived off the land. [Today's existing co-operative communities refuse Family Allowance, Welfare Relief, Old Age Pension, and still live very comfortably.] Utilizing the co-op community system, the Indian state of Ganienkeh shall be a moneyless state. The requirement is enough land to grow food for all, enough grazing land for beef cattle or buffalo, and enough timber land for building materials, and people who are ready to work towards its success. Yes, Indian people interested in the survival of the Indian race as a distinct group, as free independent nations, regained of lost pride and confidence, with all the rights enjoyed by all free peoples of the world.

THE MOHAWK NATION. No individual Indian nor any individual Nation of the Six Nations Confederacy has the right to sell or give away land without the consent of the Grand Council of the Six Nations Confederacy. This was one of the findings of the N.Y. Senate investigating commission which ended in 1922.

Joseph Brant, who was not even a member of the Six Nations Confederacy, having disqualified himself long before, did on March 29, 1797, with an alleged "power of attorney", make a deal with the New York State in which he gave away all the Mohawk Land to the said New York State. Several months before, in November of 1796, the same Jos. Brant, with the same "power of attorney", gave away large tracts of land in Ontario to his British friends. It was called 999-year-leases at no cost, that is, no revenue was to accrue. Brant loves the white people so much or was mesmerized by them, that he pauperized outright his own people to please his white friends.

In a letter to the representatives of the United Nations at San Francisco, California, April 13, 1945, the Six

Nations Confederacy stated strongly that Jos. Brant was never given the right to give away their lands. Even if they had given Brant the alleged "power of attorney," it still would be invalid as the deal would have to be consummated in the Grand Council of the Six Nations Confederacy. The fee simple is still vested in the Six Nations and the Mohawks have the aboriginal title to ancient Ganienkeh. No self-respecting nation on earth would accept the dirty deal handed out by Joseph Brant and the New York State agents.

The Mohawk Nation, supported by traditional North American aboriginal natives from other native nations such as Ojibways, Crees, Algonquins, and others, shall move into the Mohawk homeland of Ganienkeh. The combined nations shall establish the Independent North American Indian State of Ganienkeh. The Mohawk Nation is not breaking away from the Iroquois Confederacy. It is repossessing its homeland with the help of other Red Indian traditionalists and at the same time exercising its human rights accorded every one else in the world. Other native nations of Asia and Africa have regained lost lands and human rights. The United States restored Okinawa to Japan. We expect that the United States shall see their way to render the same justice to American Indians.



To any premise that the Mohawk project is an internal matter of any white people's government, certain steps are hereby taken, along with pointing out that the Indian nations have long had their own organized governments and society, greatly preceding the people who have taken by usurpation authority of this area of the world, and these steps include declaring to the world news of this move on the part of the traditional Indians of North America. There shall be communication to every nation on earth and to their embassies at the United Nations with a request of foreign relations with the countries contacted, if only on paper. That the Indian State of Ganienkeh has this right is guaranteed by the United Nations as the same right has been provided to new nations, which are actually old ones which have formerly been likewise defrauded of their lands and government.

The U.S. is a member of the United Nations and sworn to uphold its principles. The U.S. proclaimed its Universal Declaration of Human Rights in December, 1948, and it provides in Art: (1) Everyone has the right to a nationality (2) No one may be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

We too are human and should have the rights accorded everyone else in the world: the right to our nationality, the right of our nation to exist and the right to an area of land for our own territory and state where we can exercise our own proven government and society.

Notices shall also be sent to the President of the United States and to the Governors of the State of New York and Vermont. A request for foreign relations will be submitted to the U.S. Government. The procedure being followed to regain ancient Mohawk homeland is consistent with human rights. Nature did not give certificates of possession to people she consigned to certain areas. Ours is the strongest naturally legal right known to man, aboriginal right.

Message to Congress, July 8, 1970

"The first Americans - the Indians - are the most deprived group in our nation. On virtually every scale of measurement - employment, income, education, health - the condition of the Indian people ranks at the bottom. This condition is the heritage of centuries of injustice... The American Indians have been oppressed and brutalized, deprived of their ancestral lands and denied the opportunity to control their own destiny."

Today's white man may say that the injustice was done two centuries ago and it has nothing to do with him. The present Mohawk action is today, 1974, and will the white man continue to keep justice from the Indians?

The Mohawk project is the way to real self-determination - "control their own destiny." It is the way for the Red Indian race to regain lost pride, lost

belief in humanity and to offset escapes from reality like alcohol, drugs, and suicides that are destroying the Indian people.

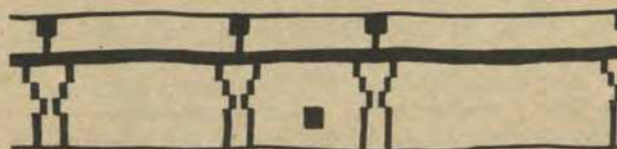
From the PREAMBLE TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS 1450 [circa?] ONONDAGA

I am Deganawidah and with the Five Nations' Confederate Rotiyaner I plant the Tree of Great Peace...Roots have spread out from the Tree of the Great Peace...and the name of these roots is the Great White Roots of Peace. If any man or any nation outside of the Five Nations shall show a desire to obey the laws of the Great Peace...they may trace the roots to their source...and they shall be welcomed to take shelter beneath the Tree... 1945

SAN FRANCISCO

We the peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourges of war...and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights...and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for law can be maintained...do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations.

(The Manifesto continues to discuss the Great Law, and the principles of the formation of the new national renaissance.)



Calendar of Events of Importance

AUGUST

28-30 San Diego, California: Second Annual National Indian Conference on Alcoholism and Drug Abuse. Contact: D.M. Vallo, c/o Inter-Tribal Council of California, 2969 Fulton Ave., Sacramento, California 95821, or telephone (916) 488-8433.

Aug.

22-25 Canton, Oklahoma: Barefoot Powwow
22-25 White Eagle (south of Ponca City), Oklahoma: Ponca Powwow.
23-25 Fort Thompson, South Dakota: State Rodeo Championships, Crow Creek Reservation
23-25 Rosebud, South Dakota: Rosebud Sioux Powwow & Rodeo
23-24 Seminole, Oklahoma: Seminole Nation Powwow
22-25 Poplar, Montana: 23rd annual Oil Discovery Celebration
24-25 Peshawbestown (near Suttons Bay) Michigan: Leelanau All-Indian Powwow. Contact (616) 271-3015 for information.
23-25 Xenia, Ohio: Four Points Inter-tribal Council of Ohio Powwow, Green County Fairgrounds, Write Solomon Brokeshoulder, POBox 283, Bellbrook, Ohio 45305.
30-2 Hayward, Wisconsin: Honor The Earth Powwow sponsored by Lac Courte Orielles Band of the Lake Superior Ojibway Nation, no booze or drugs. Contact: Eddie Benton, 622 Blair St., St. Paul, Minnesota, or call (612) 225-7419.

Sept.

1-2 Soldier Creek, South Dakota: Labor Day Powwow & Rodeo.
3-10 Fort Robinson, Nebraska: Third Annual Crazy Horse Memorial Day Sacred Ceremonies. Contact: Bob YellowBird, 233 S. Ash, Gordon, Nebraska. Telephone (308) 282-0133.
7 Tahlequah, Oklahoma: Cherokee National Holiday
21-22 Oakland, New Jersey: Thunderbird Powwow, Mullers Park, Route 202. Contact Louis Mofsie (201) 944-9657.
21-23 Coopersburg, Pennsylvania: American Indian Arts & Crafts Show and Powwow. Contact: Jimmy Little Turtle, 4225 Concord St., Harrisburg, Pa. 17109.

OCTOBER

5-9 Reno, Nevada: Third National Seminar in Indian Education. Sponsored by National Council of Teachers of English. Contact: CUE Special Projects, Box 754, Loveland, Colorado 80537.
30-2 Colony, Oklahoma: Cheyenne-Arapaho Exposition Celebration
31-2 Lawton, Oklahoma: Comanche Gourd Dance, Reid Farm, Medicine Park.
31-2 Eagle Butte, South Dakota: Cheyenne River Tribal Fair and Rodeo
31-2 Whiteriver, Arizona: White Mountain Apache Tribal Fair and All-Indian Rodeo. Write Tribal Council, Whiteriver, Arizona 85941.
31-1 Quawpaw, Oklahoma: Annual Ottawa Powwow, Beaver Springs Indian Park.
31-2 LaLuz, New Mexico: All Indian Arts and Crafts Fair, The Gallery, POBox 144, La Luz, New Mexico 88337.

Nov.

1-3 Duncan, Oklahoma: Third Annual All-Indian Trade Fair & Exhibit, Ward Mall. Contact: Exhibit Hall, Box 759, Duncan, Oklahoma 73533.
9-10 Greenwood, South Dakota: Struck-by-the-Ree Powwow
11 Sisseton, South Dakota: Veterans Day Powwow
11-14 Phoenix, Arizona: National Indian Education Association Sixth Annual Convention. Contact: Rick St. Germaine, 1014 S. Farmer St. #2, Tempe, Arizona 85281, or (602) 968-8120.

Ken Tilsen, WKLOOC Lawyer, Speaks On The Trials

(Ken Tilsen, a member of the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee, spoke to the National Lawyers' Guild at the University of Minnesota on August 10. He was hoping to recruit additional legal personnel to help WKLOOC - but his explanation of the scope and importance of the trials stands as a challenge to all people to help in whatever way they can.)

During the 71 days of Wounded Knee, approximately 530 persons were arrested. Indictments have been handed down to date in federal court for approximately 130 persons. There are between 100 and 150 additional cases pending possible indictments. The cases fall into a number of categories.

[To handle this imposing array of cases] we have thrown into the breach mainly young and inexperienced legal workers, law students and investigators, most of whom have never had any prior experience of a legal or investigative nature. Their only assets have been their dedication to the job at hand.

We have had the special skills of committed lawyers from time to time who have joined the committee for long and short tours of duty. Many of them have been back for a second and third time. To single out any one person would be to neglect many more. It is in no way a reflection on the non-lawyers or the lawyers who have and are working to say that we have never had nor do we now have an adequate number of experienced and skilled lawyers available to organize and plan the defenses and to argue and try the cases.

These clients face terms ranging, in many cases, up to several life sentences. They cannot go to trial with any but the best possible counsel.

The criminal cases arising directly out of the occupation and siege of Wounded Knee are not by any means the only cases being handled by the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee.

We have commenced a wide variety of civil suits, ranging from our initial suit to bring food and medicine to the people of Wounded Knee, which was described by Chief U.S. Marshal Colburn as the largest outside jail in the history of America, to suits to set aside the recent fraudulent election on the Pine Ridge Reservation.

We have undertaken the defense of the persons charged in state court in South Dakota with arson and other charges arising out of the Custer Court House incident of February 6, 1973. These cases present the special problem of trial in what is unquestionably the most racist and repressive court system in America, vis a vis the Indian people. The situation in South Dakota for the Indian people is comparable to the situation in Mississippi or Alabama in the '30s when lynching in and out of the courtroom was the order of the day.

In the Custer cases, many defendants face multiple life sentences under an unbelievably unconstitutional law for simply being present at a scene of what the Government calls a riot where arson was committed. Our saddest day was the trial and sentences of the first of three Custer defendants. Included among the defendants was Sarah Bad Heart Bull, who went to Custer because her son [had been killed and the assailant was charged only with manslaughter and was subsequently acquitted.] Mrs. Bad Heart Bull received a five-year sentence for simply being present. Her two co-defendants received seven year sentences.

The sadness was sharpened with the knowledge that it didn't have to be. If only we had more successfully conveyed our needs, our limitations - perhaps we could have brought to bear in and out of the courtroom the kind of skills and resources shown elsewhere that have succeeded in keeping all the other defendants out of jail to date.

Sarah Bad Heart Bull is in prison in South Dakota today, denied bail pending appeal, denied a speedy determination of her right to bail, denied the assistance of adequate counsel because our resources stretched beyond the breaking point and we could not persuade enough [lawyers] to join with us in her defense.

We have had remarkable success elsewhere for which all involved take some justifiable pride.

In Sioux Falls, South Dakota Federal Court we have won acquittals or forced government dismissals when the Government was faced with defeat in over a dozen cases. Skilled attorneys never before involved in political cases have joined with members of the National Lawyers' Guild and non-lawyer legal workers to successfully carry on this struggle. It has not been easy. We must have politically conscious, experience lawyers associated with every stage of the proceedings. We have our horror stories which flow from the failure or inability to carry out this firm commitment.

The site of the Custer trials has now moved to Pierre, South Dakota. Meanwhile, at the same time, the bulk of the Committee has moved to Lincoln, Nebraska, where trials have been underway since July 1st.

We must maintain a committee in both of these places as well as Sioux Falls where we face a new batch of charges arising out of a police riot and assault on the audience during the Sarah Bad Heart Bull case when people refused to stand for the racist state judge. One of the co-defendants [whose case will now be heard in a separate trial] lost the sight of his eye as a result of a personal, unprovoked attack on him during this police riot. At the same time, we have been maintaining an investigative team on the reservation harassed by every known means. Goons, vigilantes, court orders - anything to get our people off the reservation and away from the people.

fall. Russell and Dennis' case has been in trial here in St. Paul since January 7, 1974. The government has rested, and we're going forward with the defense on August 13.

The other cases involve charges of breaking and entering the Trading Post on February 27, 1973, (about 17 cases), charges of violation of the Civil Disobedience Act of 1968 (about 70 cases); charges of assaults on federal officers (about 25 cases) and miscellaneous cases involving alleged possession of unregistered firearms, molotov cocktails, cattle rustling, and other charges.

In many of these cases, a conspiracy charge is included. We also face a major conspiracy charge to be tried in Phoenix arising out of an FBI plot to entrap people into bringing guns to Wounded Knee which resulted in a Rap Brown Act indictment.

The Committee has been struggling with these defenses under the most difficult circumstances. The scope of the Government's case is only suggested by the revelation that the FBI files contain in excess of 316,000 items. Several armies of FBI agents are employed full-time on these cases in addition to the various teams of prosecutors who command unlimited resources.

While maintaining the Committee in Sioux Falls, Pierre, Lincoln, and the Reservation, the trial of Russell Means and Dennis Banks goes on here in St. Paul and other trials will follow here and elsewhere.

When the Government rested, their proof of a conspiracy lay in the fact of Wounded Knee.

Their proof as to the three assault charges lay in the fact that someone shot at someone.

They could prove no burglary, but at least in the judge's mind, there was proof of a larceny.

The charges of stealing an automobile and unregistered molotov cocktails were unproven and dismissed.

Nonetheless, the Court felt that the conspiracy and assaults and the larceny should go to the jury.

[The Court] wanted to hear more about our claims that the marshals and FBI agents were illegally present as an armed

The law does not permit any part of the armed forces to be used to execute the civil law except by presidential proclamation and executive order.

Since March of 1973, when we first brought suit to bring food and medicine to the people of Wounded Knee, we have been claiming that this law was violated.

It has been our position that Nixon and his cronies created the Special Operations Group of the U.S. Marshals Service in January, 1971, expressly to avoid the law.



Since October, we have been trying to get Defense Department data to back up our claim. Since May, the Government has been under court order to deliver us the records. Finally subpoenas were served in the Lincoln cases on the Pentagon officials and less than two weeks ago, the dam broke and the evidence began coming in like a flood.

Through Harlington Wood, then a special assistant attorney general at Wounded Knee, now a federal judge, we have discovered the presence at Wounded Knee of one Colonel (now general) Warner, then Chief of Staff of the 82nd Airborne. However, Joseph Sneed, then assistant attorney general and now a judge on the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, had said that the Justice Department had not seriously considered the use of troops. But with the help of a skilled interpreter of military matters from the Fifth Estate, we put the picture together.

On February 28, the FBI got two armored personnel carriers (APCs) from the Army through the South Dakota National Guard. They immediately wanted two thousand troops. General Warner was dispatched.

He met at 3 a.m. with the [area] head of the FBI, the head of the U.S. Marshals Service, in Ellsworth Air Force Base. At dawn, they surveyed the situation from an Army helicopter. He made his report to the Pentagon and through General Gleszer, director of the 24-hour Military/Civilian Watch Agency, directly to Fred Butzhardt, then counsel for the secretary of Defense, to General [Alexander] Haig, then vice chief of staff, and ultimately to the White House which received daily reports.

General Warner took over. In court, he was in full-dress uniform - medals, paratrooper boots, etc. At Wounded Knee, he was in civilian clothes. He was assisted first by a Colonel Potter, sent because he was Chief of Logistics of the Sixth Army, and according to his superiors, the "best damn logistics man in the U.S. Army.

Before it was over, he had directed the placement and use of 17 APCs, instituted part of the Army's Garden Plan for dealing with civil disturbances, authorized the use of over \$300,000 worth of Army supplies and \$750,000 worth of equipment. This included over 130,000 rounds of M-16 ammunition; 41,000 rounds of M-1 ammunition; 24,000 flares; 12 M-79 grenade launchers, 600 cases of C-S gas, and 100 rounds of M-40 high explosives.

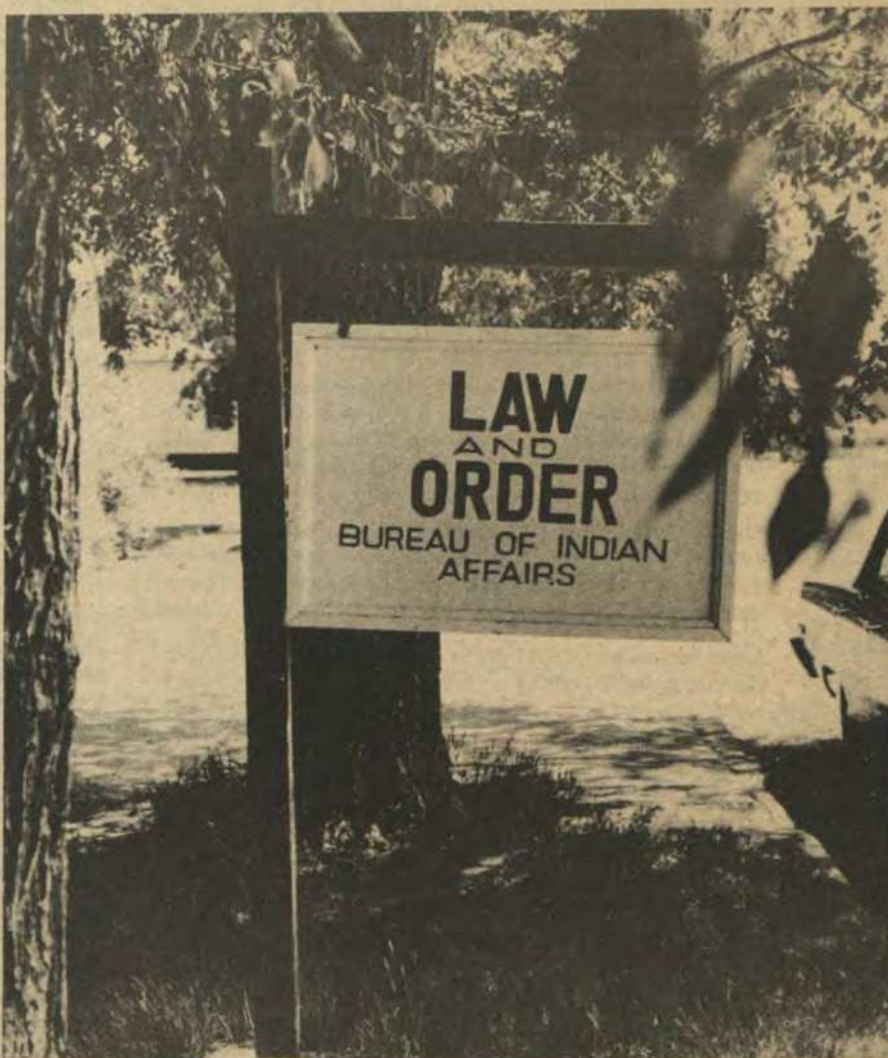
The officers, supply sergeants, maintenance technicians all remained under orders to stay in civilian clothes. At the time the war against Wounded Knee was ended, the Army was ready. It had prepositioned a full-assault package at Fort Carson, Colorado, six hours away in preference to Ellsworth Air Force Base in Rapid City, South Dakota.

Chemical officers had completed their survey of terrain and conditions for an assault. Medical teams had surveyed the area and made plans for the injured.

But for the final settlement on May 5th, the second massacre at Wounded Knee would have been history.

The planned ending is quite clear.

[But now] it is to substitute the courts for the 82nd Airborne and finish the massacre in the courtroom.



There are the cases of the seven (now six) so-called "leadership cases." Russell Means and Dennis Banks are two of this group. Pedro Bissonette, the seventh, was brutally killed by BIA police last

force in violation of law. We produced those facts, and the Court dismissed the two charges arising under the Civil Disobedience Act of 1968.

I think the novelty and significance of



Judge Fred Nichol

PROSECUTION OF BANKS AND MEANS RESTS; JUDGE DISMISSES FIVE CHARGES; DEFENSE TO BEGIN ITS PRESENTATION

St. Paul, Minnesota — Five of the ten charges against Dennis Banks and Russell Means, American Indian Movement leaders, were dismissed by U.S. District Court Judge Fred J. Nichol on August 9 after the United States Government rested its case against the two men on charges arising from the occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973.

The judge ruled that U.S. Army activity during the siege was in violation of federal law and tossed out two obstruction of justice counts.

Judge Nichol said President Nixon had not declared a civil disorder, as is required by law, but that he did send the Army into Wounded Knee, as evidenced by the personnel and ammunition in the occupied hamlet.

Jury selection in the case began last January 8. Banks and Means are charged with a ten-count indictment including burglary, larceny, assault, conspiracy and other counts in connection with the occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973.

Defense attorneys say they plan to call as many as 200 witnesses, and that their case may take about two months. The Government then will have a chance to present rebuttal witnesses before closing arguments, and then the judge would instruct the jury. By that timetable, the case could go to the jury in late October.

The prosecutions have not been brought "in the best interests of the American people," a brief supporting a dismissal motion said, "but are being used as a tool to harass in an attempt to crush the American Indian Movement and others seeking change."

The defense contends that the government has not presented any evidence that Banks or Means broke into or stole from the Trading Post, or that they assaulted anyone, or stole an automobile, or interfered with federal officers, or possessed Molotov cocktails, or conspired to commit illegal acts.

The brief also observes that while the defendants are being prosecuted for standing up for Indian rights, their opponents — including white ranchers — committed crimes and have not been prosecuted.

The defense brief reminds the court that the 1868 treaty is now an American law, which provides that the Government cannot take Indians from Sioux territory and prosecute them until Indians designated by the Sioux themselves have heard the case. Further, it says that the intent of the defendants was enforcement of treaty rights, and therefore no criminal intent was involved, another reason why all charges should be dismissed.

The prosecution had difficulty in connecting the defendants with the alleged crimes, however. It showed for instance, that people had shot at federal officers, but did not identify Banks and Means as the assailants. Thus one defense motion was that the Government failed to make a prima-facie case during its presentation, and therefore there is no need for Banks and Means to present a defense.

One of the last witnesses to be heard was U.S. Marshal Lloyd H. Grimm, 57, of Omaha. It was a dramatic touch to the prosecution case — the courtly marshal, pushed to the witness stand in a wheelchair, explaining how he was struck in the right chest by a bullet — "It knocked me on my back," he explained. "I was paralyzed right there and then."

Under brief cross-examination, Grimm said he could only assume that the bullet which struck him was fired from a bunker occupied by Indians — he had seen no flash or smoke from that direction. The defense has

contended that Grimm was shot not by the occupation force inside Wounded Knee, but by the Wilson goon squad or by white ranchers attempting to get the marshals angry enough to attack the village.

The same day Grimm was shot, the goon squad is known to have shot down telephone lines into Wounded Knee.

Grimm's shooting is one of the specific charges against Banks and Means.

The Government's case began in typical political trial manner with undercover FBI agents. A week of testimony produced, in essence, the fact that they had listened to speeches at public meetings in Rapid City in February, 1973, and had been hustled out of a couple of six-packs of beer by an unfortunate alcoholic and put into his mouth some atrocious plans to storm the Pine Ridge Reservation.

From this high beginning, the Government's case went downhill. It was soon discovered that the Government had hidden, and then altered, a petition of the residents of Wounded Knee inviting the American Indian Movement and their friends to stay in Wounded Knee, and asking the federal forces to leave. This discovery resulted in an order impounding the FBI files, all 316,000 items.

It also led directly to a five-week evidentiary hearing on Government misconduct and wire-tapping. The results were bizarre — the area head of the FBI lied about the wiretapping until confronted with his own memos. He said no efforts were made to obtain a court order for wiretapping until confronted with two affidavits which he signed. At least a half-dozen FBI agents in the field sent false or misleading teletypes to the court about their roles in the wiretapping. The head of the U.S. Marshal Service was proven to have been wrong in denying the existence of a log of intercepted radio communications from inside Wounded Knee. Mark Felt, then acting head of the FBI who was recently shown by the Nixon tapes as an ambitious man who could be counted on to cover up Watergate, apparently lied to Henry Peterson, an assistant attorney general, as to the existence of a wiretap at Wounded Knee.

The result was the suppression of wiretap evidence, the disclosure of over 500 documents which the Government had suppressed — but the refusal of the Court to dismiss the charges.

The Government case droned on. Witnesses who could not identify specific persons from the almost unlimited list of alleged co-conspirators were helped by the prosecution to make investigations. Witnesses who were interviewed dozens of times by the FBI took the stand to tell new and novel stories, filling in critical gaps in the prosecution's case.

An FBI paid-informer refused to testify as he no longer wanted to be part of the persecution of his brothers and sisters. One paid informer for the U.S. Marshal Service took off when subpoenaed, and hasn't been heard from since. Six separate government witnesses — marshals and FBI agents — took the stand and contradicted their own statements as to the location of Marshal Grimm when he was shot.

When Nancy Hussman was brought to the stand, she was cross-examined by defense attorney Mark Lane, who attempted to show that she was fabricating her testimony to avoid prosecution herself. Under his questioning, she admitted that she feared prosecution for participating in a roadblock set up by Dick Wilson's goon squad during the occupation. She also conceded that she feared prosecution of her husband, John Hussman, who is reputed to be a goon squad leader conducting a terror campaign against AIM supporters over the last two years.

Throughout the cross-examination, Judge Nichol sustained objections by chief prosecuting attorney Richard Hurd. After one objection, Lane said, "I have no further questions in view of the court's ruling. It's very difficult to proceed, Your Honor."

Nichol replied immediately that he considered the remark "most contemptuous" and cited Lane for contempt of court and ordered him jailed for an hour and a half during the noon recess.

Lane was ushered out by a pair of deputies. He told reporters he'd gotten a free lunch of corned beef sandwich and milk, and he had gotten 17 minutes off for good behavior.

Upon emerging from the jail cell, Lane said he felt the jailing was designed to intimidate defense counsel from pursuing an aggressive defense of their clients. The contempt citation could lead to disbarment proceedings against Lane by the New York Bar Association, Lane said. He indicated he would appeal the charge.

U.S. Marshals in Pine Ridge during occupation



Lane had accused Mrs. Hussman of perjury for denying that she privately discussed with R.D. Hurd the possible prosecution of her husband. Hurd responded that the defense had been calling everyone since Father Manhart [an earlier witness] a liar. At that, defense attorney William Kunstler objected, saying the defense had not called Manhart a liar. He walked across the floor toward the government table, denouncing the prosecution, causing Nichol again to become angry.

Means, sitting at the defense table, pointed at Hurd, apparently indicating to the court that it should criticize Hurd for his remark. However, Nichol took exception to Means' gesture, and immediately dismissed the jury.

After it left, Nichol said that while he couldn't cite a specific contemptuous action, his behaviour "in totality" amounted to contempt of court. Nichol berated Means for having missed a week of the trial — Means had said he could not travel because of a bleeding ulcer, but Nichol said that this was not true. Nichol also alleged that Means lied when he had told the judge he was late for court because his defense attorney was late in picking him up in the morning.



A Meeting of the Wounded Knee Occupiers

Defense attorneys argued that Nichol had invited an explanation, then found Means in contempt when he explained his position. Nichol ordered a recess, and Means was carried from the courtroom by five U.S. marshals.

During the recess, an agreement was worked out, and when court resumed, Means arose and told Nichol he apologized.

But later, Means told reporters that he had to apologize or Nichol would cancel court holidays Banks and Means had requested so, among other things, they could attend the International Treaty Conference. When Nichol heard of Means' remarks, he cancelled the break in court, ordering the defendants to be sure to be present.

Means denied bumping Hurd, saying that Hurd had backed into him from behind. "If I ever give a body block to Hurd, the son of a bitch will know it and you can quote me," Means told reporters.

travel. Although he was ordered to remain in his room by Judge Nichol, he was seen about the conference grounds — in a wheelchair.

"I felt I was conned and I don't feel good about it," Nichol told Means. He told Means he could not go to

Meanwhile Dennis Cassano, a reporter for the *Minneapolis Tribune* uncovered the fact that "high-placed Justice Department officials" had asked Judge Nichol to revoke Russell Means' bail. Cassano also reported in the *Tribune* that Congressman James Abdnor, a noted AIMphobe, had asked William Clayton, U.S. Attorney for South Dakota, to get Means' bail revoked.



In addition, Cassano wrote that intermediaries for Senator George McGovern and Representative Frank Denholm also "had contacted Clayton's office to express the congressmen's concern over complaints from constituents about Means' activities in South Dakota."

Nonetheless, Nichol did not revoke the bail, which the prosecution said was necessary to prevent Means from committing crimes in South Dakota, which would in turn prevent him from attending his trial in St. Paul. The defense had contended that bail could not be revoked to prevent a defendant from committing a crime.

And to top it off, Nichol said that Means had purposefully bumped into Hurd as the two left the courtroom the previous day.

"I give you fair warning," Nichol told Means — adding that he could find Means in contempt of court and hold him in jail overnight.

Means denied bumping Hurd, saying that Hurd had backed into him from behind. "If I ever give a body block to Hurd, the son of a bitch will know it, and you can quote me," Means told reporters.

Meanwhile, the jury sat and watched and listened — nine women and three men who will have to determine whether Means and Banks are to be found innocent or guilty of the charges left against them.

A late witness was Nancy Hussman. Her testimony over two days basically said that she had seen Means holding a pottery vase in the trading post as the occupation was beginning, and saying that the vase should be saved for use as a molotov cocktail. She also testified that Means told her she could take food from the trading post.

Her only testimony against Banks was that she saw him holding a pistol on one occasion and ordering persons into a bunker.

Kunstler questioned Mrs. Hussman at length about the fact that she never mentioned Molotov cocktails to FBI agents during several interviews. Her explanation was that no one asked her.

Kunstler asked her why federal officers had allowed her to pass through government roadblocks into and out of Wounded Knee during the occupation. "Was it the price of you being able to go in and out that you be willing to testify here in court?" he asked.

"Yes, that was the price," she said.

Three times Nichol cautioned Mrs. Hussman about her constitutional right against self-incrimination as she was questioned about whether she had taken anything from the trading post. She said she took 10 to 20 cans of food and a half-gallon of milk. Earlier, Mrs. Hussman's testimony was interrupted by a verbal free-for-all as she said Pedro Bissonette visited her mobile home in Wounded Knee the morning of February 28 as the occupation was starting. Bissonette was one of seven persons named by a federal grand jury as co-conspirators [with Banks and Means], but he was shot to death on the reservation October 17 by a Bureau of Indian Affairs policeman.

Mark Lane objected to her evidence on legal grounds. He also noted that Bissonette had been killed by a BIA officer.

R.D. Hurd asked Judge Nichol to admonish Lane for using the word "killed". Nichol began to agree that the word could mean "murdered" and the argument ensued.

Hurd said he would agree to a statement that Bissonette died while trying to shoot a BIA police officer, an

idea that goes contrary to the AIM belief and evidence that Pedro was hunted down and shot in cold blood.

Apparently incensed by Hurd's statement, Lane shouted, "Mr. Hurd and Mr. Clayton should be prosecuting Mr. Clifford [the officer who shot Bissonette], not defending him here in court. . . It becomes clear why Indians in South Dakota can't get a fair trial.

Means jumped to his feet after Hurd's comment and glared intensely at him, but said nothing.

Nichol told the jury that the remarks by both Hurd and Lane were out of order, and added, "All I want the jury to understand is that Mr. Bissonette is dead."

With that, Mrs. Hussman's testimony resumed. She said Bissonette was asked whether her family could leave Wounded Knee, and that Bissonette "told us he'd check with Russell Means and get back to us later." Later at the trading post, she claimed, Means came to them and said "he didn't know when they could get the passes for us."

She said that she then told Means her family needed groceries. She said Means told them to go into the trading post and take the food they needed.

Another witness, paid FBI informer James Northrup, asked that he be excused from testifying on the grounds that he now supported the Indian cause. Apparently Northrup, a Chippewa from Wisconsin, was asked by the FBI to go into Wounded Knee and get information for the U.S. Later, he had second thoughts and reportedly told a defense attorney that to testify "against Russell and Dennis would be a betrayal of those who lived and died in Wounded Knee in 1890 and 1973." After this statement, the prosecutors withdrew a second subpoena that had been issued for him.

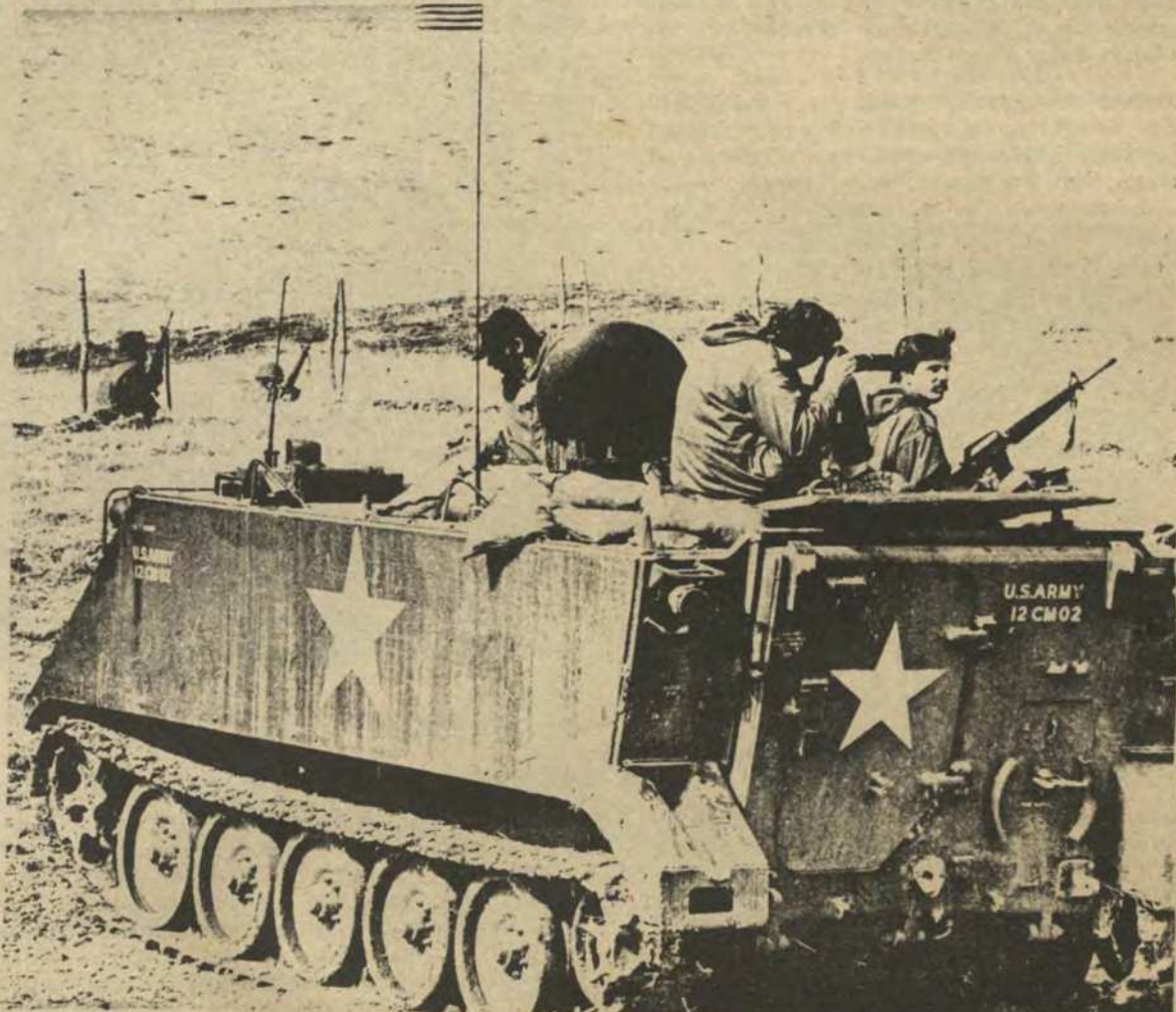
Northrup, a 31-year-old Vietnam War veteran, reportedly was paid \$350 for his effort. He subsequently gave testimony to the federal grand jury which indicted Banks and Means and others. However, defense attorneys said he was guilt-ridden because he had been an FBI informant against his own people.

Another paid informant, Lloyd Little Ghost of Tokio, North Dakota, had been scheduled to appear at the St. Paul courthouse on July 8. However, he did not appear. A warrant had been issued for his arrest, but authorities were unable to locate him.

The prosecution team said it had dropped intentions of calling to the witness stand any paid informants because of the difficulty in getting them to complete their part of the deal.

On July 22, Judge Nichol was critical of the Government for not having James A. Czywczynski, a co-owner of the Wounded Knee Trading Post, bring his financial records into court. He had testified that the store contained items valued at an estimated \$88,000.

Richard Gienapp, an assistant U.S. attorney, told the court that the records were unnecessary, but Kenneth Tilsen, a defense attorney, said the records were needed in order to verify Czywczynski's estimate. The defense contended that the records would also show that the Trading Post had gained up to 46% interest on trading post purchases in violation of the usury laws that permit only 12% interest.



An Armored Personnel Carrier at Wounded Knee: The Army Said It "Wasn't Involved"

Rapid City, South Dakota — U.S. District Court Judge Andrew Bogue has refused to allow the Department of Justice to intervene in a suit filed by Russell Means contesting the 1974 Oglala Sioux Tribal Election in which Means was narrowly defeated by incumbent Richard Wilson.

The Justice Department had supported Means' claim of improprieties in the election. It said in a brief that its investigations had revealed that the election, conducted under BIA supervision, was run in a way to deny reservation residents equal protection of the law and due process guaranteed to them under the 1968 Civil Rights Act. The brief alleges various irregularities and failure to comply with tribal election ordinances. For instance, of the approximately 3,300 people who voted, only 2,345 appeared on the eligible voters list. Of those not on the voters list, approximately 305 votes were cast by totally unqualified voters.

Initially, Bogue allowed the Justice Department to participate in the case as "friend of the court," but ordered that it maintain a position of "strict neutrality." Several days later, he revoked the order after he was shown a Justice press release which expressed an opinion that there had been irregularities in the election.

Means was defeated 1,714 votes to 1,514. In the January 22 primary, Means had placed first in a contest of 13 candidates. After the election, the American Indian Movement and Means charged that FBI agents, U.S. marshals, and BIA police had prohibited news personnel and independent observers from watching the polls.

Means said that he might not renew his candidacy for council president if a new election is ordered, vacating for other candidates. He said he was considering throwing his support to Gerald One Feather, currently the tribal treasurer.

One Feather is a former council president.

There have been difficulties within the tribal council since the election, too. In June, Dick Wilson ordered the suspension of Lloyd "Toby" Eagle Bull Sr., who had been a Wilson stalwart throughout the occupation of Wounded Knee. Wilson said the suspension was effective immediately and without pay. He charged that Wilson, the tribal secretary who has served for more than twenty years, was guilty of "malfeasance in office, abuse of position and authority, and being absent without leave." Eagle Bull has promised, in turn, to defend himself against the charges, and added that he would "have some of my own against Wilson."

The secretary confirmed a frequent charge made by Oglalas: "Wilson has been attempting to run a one-man show and hasn't been working with the regular executive board as I have been pressing him to do."

(Thanks to Ken Tilsen; thanks also to Minneapolis Star staff writers Randy Furst, John Carman, and Terry Wolkerstorfer, and to John Linder and Greg of the Militant, for information used here.)

Phoenix, Arizona — More trials arising out of the occupation of Wounded Knee will take place here whenever defendants are not involved in other trials elsewhere.

Russell Means and four other members of the American Indian Movement have had their trials postponed here several times now by Judge Walter E. Craig. Means, Stanley Holder, 23, of Lawton, Oklahoma, and AIM security chief at Wounded Knee; Herbert G. Powless, 35, of Milwaukee, and Eugene C. Heavy Runner, Jr., 23, of Browning, Montana, and Ronald D. Petite, 37, of Minneapolis, were named in an indictment returned in May, 1973, by a federal grand jury here.

The indictment charged the five were planning to buy automatic weapons in Phoenix and ship them to Wounded Knee, then under siege. The indictment says that Means, Holder, Heavy Runner, and Petite met in a Rapid City, South Dakota, motel room in mid-April and arranged to buy and transport firearms and other explosive devices into Wounded Knee. The indictment was based on information supplied by a police informer.

Powless is accused of flying by commercial airline from Minneapolis to Phoenix and buying three M1 carbines from a pawnshop the next day. He was arrested by FBI agents at the rear of the pawnshop, and the weapons were allegedly seized from him.



In The Trading Post During the Occupation

THE CUSTER TRIALS GO ON

Sioux Falls, South Dakota — Three defendants charged with the crime of riot where arson was committed in connection with the Custer clash of February 6, 1973, were found guilty in state court here June 20 and have been sentenced to indeterminate prison terms by Circuit Court Judge Joseph Bottum.

Sentenced to the state penitentiary are Sarah Bad Heart Bull, 44, of Rapid City, one to five years; Robert High Eagle, 35, of Wakpala and Kenneth Dahl, 33, of Hot Springs, both five to seven years. The exact length of the sentences will be determined by the South Dakota Board of Pardons and Paroles.

Sentences for Dahl and High Eagle were to begin immediately, while a 24-hour delay was granted to Mrs. Bad Heart Bull, who has four children at home aged seven to 15.

Judge Bottum's sentences brought a sharp reply from defense attorneys. William Kunstler called the sentences "savage and vindictive."

Defense attorney Mark Lane said to Bottum, "I consider it a shame to be in the same profession as you."

"I'm not looking for credit," Bottum replied.

"No," Lane said, "you're looking for re-election."

The defense team spent most of July 29 in a lengthy mitigation hearing, attempting to sway Bottum to suspend sentences. Six witnesses were called to testify that the defendants were no threat to society, and that great harm and damage would result from their incarceration.

Defense attorney Ramon Roubideaux said the convictions would be appealed to the South Dakota Supreme Court.

The all white jury was out fourteen hours before returning its guilty verdict on June 20.

Sixteen other persons charged in the Custer protests will go on trial in Pierre and Sioux Falls at a later date.

The killing of Wesley Bad Heart Bull by a white gas-station operator was one of the things which drew the American Indian Movement to South Dakota, paving the road to Wounded Knee. In his opening statement to the jury, defense counsel John Pratt said he would show not just what had happened at Custer, "but why it happened."

The defendants had gone to the county seat as part of a large caravan to demand that the charge against the man who stabbed Wesley be raised from manslaughter to murder. Pratt said Sarah, Wesley's mother, had asked for help from AIM because the authorities had been "totally unresponsive to her concerns."

During a conference by leaders of the caravan with the state's attorney, a scuffle between guards and a man who had left the courthouse and wanted to re-enter escalated into a battle with police, and then the burning of the Chamber of Commerce building and part of the courthouse. Police used tear gas, mace, smoke bombs, riot clubs, water hoses and baseball bats to drive the 200 Indians from the area.

Kenneth Norgard, a Rapid City commercial photographer, testified that he witnessed the clash. He said that Sarah Bad Heart Bull had yelled profanities and shoved a highway patrolman outside the building, but under cross-examination he admitted she was unarmed and did not strike the officer. He said a state trooper restrained her by putting an arm around her neck. Norgard also testified that he saw High Eagle strike patrolman Melvin Schmoll.

Assistant attorney general William Janklow presented some twenty witnesses, plus photographs, reels of film, and videotape, and recordings. Most of the prosecution's witnesses dealt in general with the rioting that occurred — only a minority of the testimony concerned the three defendants.

Giving testimony in their own defense, the three defendants said they went to Custer on February 6 with peaceful intentions.

Dahl said he was sleeping in Mrs. Bad Heart Bull's car when a state trooper woke him and asked him to take her down the courthouse steps. Dahl said he started up the steps when he saw a patrolman hit Mrs. Bad Heart Bull on the head. Dahl then described an incident in which he and trooper Steven Kenoyer went down the steps while Dahl held on to Kenoyer's riot baton. Earlier witnesses had said Dahl had pulled Kenoyer down.

High Eagle said he had gone to Custer as an eyewitness to the killing of Bad Heart Bull. He said he did not witness the actual stabbing, but he had heard the alleged killer, a white gas station owner, say "he was going to kill him an Indian."

High Eagle said he had talked with Gates, "but I could see he wasn't listening or going to do anything." He denied hitting anyone during the fracas on the court-



— Wide World Photo
This was the scene in Custer, South Dakota, on February 6, 1973. Some of the persons arrested (above) are now awaiting trial; others have been sentenced to prison. A building burns in background.

house steps. He said, though, he had received 18 stitches from injuries suffered there.

Defense attorneys said one ground for an appeal would be the instructions. Judge Bottum gave to the jury. Ramon Roubideaux said the instructions said "your mere presence at a riot makes you responsible for that riot" and for whatever arson might have occurred. One juror said afterwards that the jury did not want to convict of the crime charged, but said they had no alternative because of the instructions.

Prosecutor William Janklow called the verdict a "victory for the people of South Dakota." He said that the defense criticism of the judge's instruction was "a typical response made by defense attorneys."

Janklow has an extraordinary interest in pleasing the people of the state of South Dakota. He is running for election as attorney general on the Republican ticket. Before he went to work for the state, he had been legal aid attorney on the Rosebud Reservation, where he had the duty of looking after the rights of reservation residents — and that is hardly a platform for running for office in South Dakota.

Janklow is no longer working for the state. He says he quit. Attorney General Kermit Sande says he was fired when he started to seek public office, in this case, as a competitor of Sande himself. The "you can't fire me I quit" game showdown came July 11th after Janklow won the court victory.

Following announcement of the verdict, the jurors showed no reaction as defendant Robert High Eagle walked up to each member of the panel to shake their hands after his conviction. As High Eagle left the Sioux Falls Civil Defense Building where the trial had been held under tight security, he was arrested by police on a charge of riot in connection with the police riot in the courtroom on April 30 during jury selection. He was held on \$2,000 bond on this charge.

The arrest of High Eagle has brought the number of Indians arrested in connection with the courthouse battle to a total of 13.

The attack by the police came as spectators and defendants chose not to rise when Judge Bottum entered the courtroom. The Indians present defended themselves from the riot squad, and as the sounds of the battle reached the street outside, other Indians who had been unable to get into the courtroom to witness the trial erupted into destruction and disorder.

The Legal Trail Continues to Do Its Thing

The trial of persons involved in the April 30 violence is being handled by municipal judge Robert Patterson. Because Ramon Roubideaux is expected to be called as a material witness in the cases, John Gridley of Sioux Falls has replaced him as chief defense attorney. Roubideaux had also announced he was stepping aside as chief counsel of the American Indian Movement so as to devote more time to his family and his own law practice. He had been serving for some months now without compensation.

At the arraignment, Ted Means and Al Cooper appeared as ordered to have preliminary hearings set. Others charged are Russell Means, Dewey Dubray, William Flood, Ken Kane, Edgar Bear Runner and Vernon Bellecourt. Charged for offenses outside the courtroom are Lois Tiger, Bobbi Jo Tiger, and John Concannon.

The defendants, their lawyers, and other witnesses present in the courtroom on April 30 have repeatedly asserted that the melee had been instigated by tactical police and that riot squad members had attacked the defendants without provocation. Earlier, the spectators had refused to rise when the judge entered the courtroom.

Lutheran Bishop Archie L. Mattheson of Denver, one of four Lutheran bishops who witnessed the courtroom outrage, testified that prior to the attack, the bishops had been asked by police to leave "for their own safety," which spurred his concern for what would happen to the Indian spectators. They remained. The attack began, Mattheson said, when two tactical police knocked defendant David Hill unconscious from behind. "Hill never turned around," the bishop said.

Police witnesses consistently stressed the necessity to use force against the unarmed spectators — reflecting the justification given by Judge Bottum to the bishops at the conclusion of the fray: "These are the toughs. They wanted this and we gave them what they wanted. I take full responsibility for what happened," the bishop recalled the judge saying.

The bishop said the police action was "an excessive show of force, comparative to using a shotgun against a flea."

The evidence of police officers conflicted sharply with the Rev. Mr. Madsen's testimony. Edward Corbett, a member of the Sioux Falls police tactical squad, said that he had been struck with a chair by Robert High Eagle, and that he had seen William Flood beating a tactical squad member lying on the floor. Officer Kenneth Myers testified that Ted Means had swung a riot baton — apparently owned by one of the police — at him during the altercation.

"The squad members were trying to protect themselves," Corbett said.

But after two days of hearings, Judge Patterson ordered the six defendants bound over to state circuit court for arraignment, ruling that the state had presented sufficient evidence in each case. Only one dismissal was won: that of Ted Means on his assault and battery charge, which was dropped for lack of evidence. However, Means is still charged with the felony of riot to obstruct justice.

As a result of the hearings, Judge Bottum faces possible contempt charges for refusing to respond to a subpoena to testify. Judge Bottum said that the order for him to be present was invalid because it was not issued by the court, nor did it provide in advance for travel expenses. The defense countered on authority of South Dakota law that the subpoena was, in fact, valid, having been signed by the clerk of the court and delivered by the sheriff. Bottum subsequently agreed to appear.

Some of the defendants did not appear for the hearing in the wake of the jurisdictional question raised in Rosebud Sioux Tribal Court that week. Russell Means and Kenneth Kane asked for a temporary restraining order from Chief Judge Mario Gonzales, forbidding federal agents from exercising warrants for their arrest. The order also restricted Means and Kane to the Rosebud Reservation until the hearing.

The U.S. Solicitor General had called Judge Gonzales, asking that he grant a continuance until July 11 to allow the government to prepare its brief. Gonzales agreed.

However, the following day, Judge Gonzales was served with a writ of prohibition ordering him to cease and desist from any action prohibiting federal agents from arresting Russell Means and Kenneth Kane. The writ was signed by federal district judge Andrew Bogue.

The defendants submitted a motion that the court continue the temporary restraining order, but Judge Gonzales elected to submit to the writ of prohibition. He is still considering the defendants' request that he issue contempt citations to Judge Bogue and U.S. Attorney William Clayton for their disregard of tribal authority.

The restraining order was based on Article I of the 1868 Great Sioux Nation Treaty, and Articles I and II of the Rosebud Sioux Tribal Code. According to these laws, the U.S. must show proof of lawful jurisdiction before the Indians would be bound over to U.S. authorities. If it could not, the defendants argue, they are subject to tribal law only.

The whole situation was set in motion with an incident at the Mission Country Club Restaurant on the reservation, when a group, including Means and Kane, were ordered by police to leave. One policeman nudged Means with his gun, and Means knocked it from his hand. In the ensuing fight, Harvey Kills In Water, a member of the group, was shot in the back by one of the policemen. He was taken in critical condition to a hospital in Denver.

"We understood that the country club discriminates against Indian people, and refuses to serve them," Means said. "So we went there. There were about 12 of us. They served us and the manager never at any time asked us to leave. But unknown to us, he called the police, and they came out."

The officers who responded were beaten and stabbed, and their guns were taken from them. The front windshield of the police car was smashed, and one side damaged. Damage inside the clubhouse from the fracas was estimated at about \$500.

Val Tulloss, a stockholder of the Mission Golf Club, said that 35% of the stockholders of the club are Indian, and 30% of the membership are also Indian, "and the club has never refused to serve them or their guests." Tulloss said that police had been called after members of the Means party had ordered drinks and food but refused to pay for them.

Means posted \$15,000 bond June 28, after spending most of the day in court. He was arraigned on two counts of assault. He attended a preliminary hearing the same day before municipal judge Robert Patterson in connection with the courtroom attack on defendants and spectators by riot police on April 30.

Minnehaha County Sheriff Les Hawkey testified that he had told the Sioux Falls Police tactical squad to "peacefully remove" the spectators after they had refused to rise when Judge Joseph Bottum entered the courtroom.

Tactical squad member Richard Ideker said politely that he was instructed to "clear the courtroom with as little force as was necessary." Defense witnesses in trials of other defendants arrested after the battle have testified that the police attacked without provocation or warning, and with great force.



Just before the Sun Dance, Means was involved with further problems with the Mission police, resulting in the hospitalization of himself and a companion, Ambrose White Eagle. Early July 30, a fight started in a downtown Valentine, Nebraska, bar with Howard Fuller, an off-duty policeman, and John Iron Shell, who was with him. Police said that after Means was taken to the hospital, where he remained for two days, that a carload of his companions shot at Fuller's vehicle, one bullet entering the windshield and exiting the roof. When Fuller continued on home, the other car circled and came back and opened fire on his home. Fuller, whose family was inside, returned the fire and the vehicle left. There have been no arrests.

Means was also arrested a few days earlier in Fort Totten, North Dakota, at the powwow grounds on a complaint signed by a 17-year-old girl's father who alleged that his daughter should have been home instead of in Means' company. Means pleaded innocent before tribal judge Sylvester DeMarce and was released on his own recognizance.

(This letter to AKWESASNE NOTES was written by Robert High Eagle on August 5, after his sentencing on the Custer charges. It was written from the South Dakota State Penitentiary.)

BROTHERS & SISTERS: As I'm alone in this cell at the Sioux Falls Pen, my heart cries out not for myself, but for the most racist judge I've ever encountered in my entire life. He told me this spring in the Rapid City Court House that he was "given an Indian name at a powwow on the Rosebud Reservation." Should he continue to carry that name?

I left three little braves on the Standing Rock Reservation: Robin, 14 years old; Richard 13 years old; Rodney 12 years old. The Great Spirit will watch them and care for them. I'll be home sometime to live the native American way, the only way.

The appeal on the Custer conviction and sentence is being handled by the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee here in Sioux Falls, but money is badly needed for appeal bond, and the upcoming Sioux Falls Courtroom clash

trials. Any donation by anyone will be greatly appreciated.

My main goal at this time is to form a native American cultural group here. Any advice will be appreciated.

The Great Spirit will return the sacred peace to all who follow him. Peace and love to all brothers and sisters.

Robert High Eagle 17609
South Dakota Penitentiary
POBox 911
Sioux Falls, South Dakota
57101



— with thanks to Richard Erdoes for photo
Pine Ridge: Poverty created by colonialism eventually creates violence

TWO CASES DISMISSED IN LINCOLN TRIAL AS GOVERNMENT LOSSES PILE UP

Lincoln, Nebraska — Criminal charges against Gregorio Jarmillo and Michael Sturdevant for participating in the occupation of Wounded Knee were dismissed here in mid-August by U.S. District Judge Warren K. Urbom because federal officers the men were alleged to have interfered with were illegally engaged in putting down the action.

After an initial flurry of trials in Sioux Falls federal court, the trials of the "non-leadership" cases from Wounded Knee were shifted to Lincoln before Judge Urbom. Additional cases are yet to be heard.

Urbom had denied a defense motion to suppress evidence obtained when Jarmillo and Sturdevant were arrested for attempted entry into the liberated village on March 9, 1973, with weapons and ammunition. The two were walking through the open country in broad daylight, and the defense said the Government had no probable cause in arresting them. The defense motion also noted that the men were not immediately taken before a U.S. Magistrate for arraignment, but were held in the infamous Pine Ridge jail for some time before transfer to Rapid City.

David L. Steele, who operated the jail under contract with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, said inmates of the Pine Ridge jail were not allowed to call attorneys and were not taken to the U.S. Magistrate until they were interrogated by the FBI. "It was common knowledge in the jail that you didn't get out until you talked to the FBI."

As was the case in the St. Paul trial, a spectator in the Lincoln courtroom would have trouble determining who is on trial — the defendants, or the U.S. While the Government was able to prove to the satisfaction of the judge that the defendants were arrested near Wounded Knee carrying ammunition, it has yet to show there was anything wrong with that.

The defense, on the other hand, has been challenging testimony of FBI agents, federal marshals, and BIA policemen. In many cases, the officers say they cannot recall certain important details, and in some cases, their testimony appears to conflict. The Government has frequently found itself objecting to testimony from its own witnesses.

Earlier, more than 100 of the defendants scheduled to go on trial refused a U.S. offer to engage in "plea bargaining" — the process by which defendants plead guilty to lesser charges in exchange for the prosecution dropping serious charges. The Government had offered to drop charges against almost all of the defendants if five persons would plead no-contest.

Part of the reason for the refusal was the belief that pleas of no contest would seal the fate of Dennis Banks and Russell Means, on trial in St. Paul for a number of counts, including conspiracy. The existence of an acknowledged crime would hasten conviction of the two leaders for aiding and abetting, it was believed.

Government proposal was forwarded by U.S. Attorney William Clayton, and initially it was looked upon with favor by defense attorneys. However, the defendants met to discuss the matter, and felt that the bargain would be an admission that the occupation of Wounded Knee was wrong.

"It is obvious that the cases are out of the hands of the U.S. prosecutors from South Dakota and are being directed straight out of Washington by the Justice Department's special 'messenger', Alan H. Kirshen," the defendants said August 6 in a written statement. "Kirshen has shown his only interest in these trials is political — justification of the Nixon Administration's huge expenditure of government funds and military resources against the people of Wounded Knee. His aim is to prove that the Indian people are wrong and that the federal forces were right to lay siege on these 'criminals'," they said.

The Government was trying to show that a "civil disorder" was prevailing at the time of arrest of the men. However, Ronald Rosen, a paramedic who went to Wounded Knee by arrangement of the Medical Committee for Human Rights and the National Council of Churches, testified that when he arrived in Wounded Knee, a "holiday atmosphere" prevailed, and that on March 9, the date the defendants were arrested, the scene was like "a Sunday picnic."

Rushville, Nebraska — A charge against Milo Goings and Dick Jenis of shooting with intent to do great bodily harm was dropped July 13 by the state due to lack of evidence. The case stemmed from a shooting incident on the night of the tribal elections in February, allegedly between members of the goon squad and AIM people.

Fort Yates, North Dakota — A Bureau of Indian Affairs policeman was arrested June 24 on charges of beating a Lakota man here. The arrest of George R. Gates was announced from Washington, D.C., by U.S. Attorney General William B. Saxbe.

Gates was charged with depriving Ernest Clayton His Chase of his constitutional rights by depriving him of his liberty without due process of law, and he was charged with assault resulting in serious bodily injury under the Federal Major Crimes Act applicable to certain crimes occurring between native people on reservations.

His Chase was hospitalized for two days after the alleged beating on April 10 in the Fort Yates jail where Gates brought him after arresting him for drunkenness. Both men are members of the Standing Rock Tribe of the Great Sioux Nation.

THE CHOICE GIVEN: DEATH BY STARVATION OR POISONING



White Dog Reserve, Ontario — The native people here have a choice of giving up their traditional diet of fish and risking death from malnutrition and starvation, or eating the fish and dying from mercury poisoning.

Thomas Strong was just 42 when he died August 16, 1972. He was a trapper and guide along the lake-chain of the English and Wabigoon Rivers. He staggered out of his tent, collapsed and died beside a little fist of water called A.H. Bay.

The inquest held returned a verdict of death by heart failure. But his people knew: about 50 of his friends and family came by chartered bus out the bush road to Kenora to hear what the experts had to say. They knew: because they had seen Tom Strong show signs of classic mercury poisoning: slurred speech, tremors, loss of weight. He ate fish twice a day during the season.

Federal and provincial governments had known for three years that the fish were contaminated: Ontario banned commercial fishing in the area on April 6, 1970. It posted signs on the lakes where rich Americans fly in to angle, cutely telling them to fish for fun but not for food. But no one has told the native people in any kind of straight way, and no government has yet told the people what they are to do if they can't eat fish.

Part of the reason for the hush-up, Peter Kelly says, is the lucrative tourist industry in the area. Kelly, who is president of Grand Council Treaty No. 3, says water throughout the entire area is contaminated, but that tourists who might eat fish for a week wouldn't be harmed much and so they aren't told. "The incidence of mercury poisoning may be far more widespread than the public realizes," Kelly says.

Of the 123 waterways in Canada known to be mercury contaminated, one third are in Northwestern Ontario. Kelly calls for thorough testing of people who may be suffering from mercury poisoning — and releasing information of those already tested. He wants recommendations of the Ontario Task Force on Mercury Pollution implemented. That group made 30 recommendations, such as compensation for fishing guides who no longer can work as a result of the pollution.

"Human test results have not been released because government officials are reluctant for fear of a public panic," Kelly charges. "Residents of the Grassy Narrows and White Dog Reserves were discouraged from finding out their test results."

He quoted the case of Matthew Beaver, 32, who was told in 1970 that his mercury level was 70. It leaped

to 289 in 1973 — now Beaver has tunnel vision, and cannot see anything unless it is directly in front of him.

"If I drop my cap, I can't find it unless it's right in front of me, and not a couple of feet to the side," he said. He also has lost the ability to balance on one leg. He talked to reporters about his situation, nervously fingering a letter he had just received reporting his high blood-mercury reading, but which added, "There is no suggestion that mercury is affecting your health."

Perhaps not so strangely, the tests were taken in January, when the level of fish-eating is at the lowest point in the annual cycle of life.

The Japanese Experience: Minamata

Minamata bears little resemblance to White Dog — it is a city of 46,000 on the island of Kyushu of Japan. But the two communities have one thing in common: their people live on the shores of mercury-contaminated waters, and their diet consists mainly of fish.

Since the 1950s, more than 50 Japanese have died from mercury poisoning, which attacks the nervous system and slowly destroys the body. There is no known cure. Dogs die on the streets, and pregnant women give birth to twisted, deformed children.

Last March, 112 Japanese victims of mercury poisoning were awarded \$3,530,000 in a suit against Chisso Corporation, a fertilizer manufacturer. The suit was in the courts for four years. Residents had first become frightened when cats started taking convulsions in the streets — human suffering came next.

The mercury problem begins when the chemical dumped into the water sinks to the bottoms of the lakes and rivers. Bacteria changes it into organic methyl-mercury, a substance picked up by one-celled plant organisms. Larger organisms eat those, and in turn are eaten, until finally, man eats the fish — and the mercury.

"Our Women and Old People are Scared"

Provincial government people have come in to tell the Indians that they should "cut down on the amount of fish they eat."

"Cut down?" asks Chief Ray McDonald. "What do I do? Go out and tell my people they can't eat fish anymore? What should they do, starve?" He said reports that newly-born children can have higher mercury counts than their mothers have caused concern. "Some of our women and older people are scared," he said.

McDonald says he plans to go to Manitoba or Minnesota to study the possibilities of setting up chicken or mink farms on his reserve — but he doesn't know where the funds will come from.

"It seems we were much better off years ago," he said. "Every family had a garden and some pigs or cows. Civilization came in, and now nobody has anything like that." It is so bad now, he says, "my people are eating the fish despite the health hazards."

The Anishnawbeg say of the new ailment: "gigon auchos" — the fish are sick. That sickness has been traced to the Dryden Chemical Co., Ltd., and the Dryden Pulp and Paper Co., of Dryden, Ontario. While both firms have "reduced" the release of mercury into the waters, the streams will not be clean for one or more human generations.

The current level of poisoning is 24 times higher than a level safe for human consumption.

So far, there has been no legal action against the firms — the government claims it is waiting for the results of a lawsuit taken against Dow Chemical Company for pollution of Lake St. Clair near Windsor, Ontario. There may be another reason: the unholy alliance between government and industry.

T.S. Jones, you see, is vice-president of Anglo-Canadian Pulp and Paper Mills Ltd., and a former manager of the Dryden Paper Co. mill which Anglo-Canadian owns. In fact, it also owns Dryden Chemicals. Jones is also the head of a ministerial advisory committee which examines matters referred to Leo Bernier, the minister of Natural Resources, and the ministry responsible for doing something about the mercury situation.

Stephen Lewis, New Democratic Party leader in the Ontario Legislature, called Jones' appointment "grossly inappropriate." He said senior civil servants are already drawn from industry, and appointments of this nature make government " beholden to industry."

The president of Anglo-Canadian, R.W. Billingsley, had earlier appeared before a group of ministers of the Ontario Cabinet, appealing for special consideration in the mercury pollution problem, threatening that the firm might have to close the plant unless consideration was given, thus throwing 422 people out of work.

Peter Kelly says that Bernier's suggestion of providing more work through fire-fighting and similar things is off-base. "We've been doing these things for years," he said. "How can you 'step them up'?"

"We've been adjusting for so long we don't know the meaning of the word anymore," he said in an interview.

Aggressive behaviour, violent actions, and other disorders are characteristic symptoms of mercury poisoning. White Dog's only storekeeper, a white man, was shot to death in February, 1973. Two new prefabricated houses provided free by the government were burned down the same month by children who had been sniffing gas. (See article on next page).

Chief Art Assim, 33, of Grassy Narrows, says that worse than the illness are the social situations which result: with no fishing and no guiding, the men sit at home, drawing welfare, and they have lost their will to do much of anything. "The alcohol problem is getting worse every day, and we don't know how to stop the pollution."

While there are other factors than mercury poisoning involved, there have been 174 violent deaths among native people in the Kenora area during the last three years. There is a 264% increase in drinking offenses reported by Kenora city police.

The non-Indian residents of the area, however, are not overly excited about the problems of natives. In fact, some charge, it is the Indians who are at fault and who are harming the white people. As Judge L.A. McLennan of the city police commission says:

"We submit that the small segment of the Indian population which constantly indulges in the excessive use of alcohol in Kenora is not only discriminating against the non-native residents of our community, but it is also casting a dark shadow over the majority of Indian people." Because of the situation, he said, "local citizens are denied the right to walk unimpeded in a clean, respectable downtown area."

Government officials have been lethargic about the situation. The facts were known in 1970 or earlier, but it took until 1972 for the question of inaction to be raised in the Ontario Legislature. And then it took nine months for Lands and Forests Minister Leo Bernier to "look into it" — and to send up a task force to check it all out. And the recommendations of the task force have still not been implemented. That's one of the unfortunate attributes of mercury poisoning: it is slow death, and by the time it becomes dramatic, there is nothing that can be done.

When federal Indian Affairs Minister Jean Chretien was asked about the situation on May 10, 1973, he told the House of Commons that "We have been aware of this problem for many years and I know that on several occasions it was necessary to see to it that Indians of this region change their fishing habits."

But while it seems that everyone wants the Indians to change their habits rather than to alter the death-track of civilization, no one has yet come up with alternatives for the native people. If they can't eat fish, what are they to eat? And if they can't fish or guide, what other prideful activities remain to give purpose to life?

The task force had recommendations that no fish be used for human or animal consumption. It wanted an information program to warn residents. That means the printing of a booklet, and sending each household a letter "outlining the danger and suggesting equally nutritious substitutes."

Ontario Health Minister Richard Potter said that it was not his responsibility to provide food for people in the area. He said he could only warn of the danger of "indulgence," much as he does with "alcohol, tobacco, and other substances which are injurious to health."



The best that could be expected, apparently, was that Ontario would assist the band by hiring men for tree-planting each spring and autumn, fire-fighting in the summer, and maybe left-overs from commercial pulpwood operations or the development of native crafts. There was no word about an alternative food supply.

Lands minister Bernier said he was responding to the "underlying request" of the Indians that they be permitted to take the leadership in determining which social, economic, and cultural programs would be of greatest benefit to them, "apparently meaning that native people would have self-determination when no one else had any answers."

(Thanks to Canadian Press, Michael Valpy of the Toronto Globe and Mail, Tobert Reguly of the Toronto Star, and the Ontario Native Experience for information.)

Kenora: A Town With A Bad Name

Kenora, Ontario — For years, Kenora had the reputation as one of the worst Indian scenes in Canada. Discrimination and culture loss had left Anishnawbeg disorganized and violent — toward each other.

Now there is a new mood in Kenora as armed Anishnawbeg occupied a Kenora park for almost two weeks in a move to get serious negotiation moving on urgent demands. City, provincial, and federal representatives were on hand for the talks after years of inaction. However, things remain touch-and-go, wait-and-see.

The occupation began with the arrest July 22 of Louis Cameron, the chairman of a weekend Anishnawbeg national conference held in the park. He was taken into custody for carrying a "dangerous weapon" — a five-inch hunting knife carried in his belt. Charges were dropped shortly after the arrest.

Although the conference was over, some people were still camped at the park. They remembered that the park land was allocated through an agreement in 1929 as a resting place for Indians who came into the town to trade. It had later been sold without authority to the town. So they took over the park, and formed security patrols to keep outsiders from entering. The 150 men, women, and children inside vowed to defend themselves should police try to move into the park.

For a while, there was no response to the takeover. Police maintained a wary eye, but no officials came to talk. By mid-afternoon the next day, July 23, the Anishnawbeg moved an armed guard to the park's main gate to keep out intruders. Although local policemen were reinforced by about 150 Royal Canadian Mounted Policemen and Ontario Provincial Police officers, they made few offensive acts. They refused to discuss their plans, and spent all day meeting together to discuss strategies.

Mayor James Davidson said he would allow the Anishnawbeg to remain in the park indefinitely because he didn't want "both sides sniping it out at each other."

Harvey Major, a local native man who has been living in Des Moines, Iowa, said the group was serious, and those who were not prepared to "kill or be killed" had been given the chance to leave. He said that there was a ban in the park on alcohol and drugs.

"We don't need any drunken warriors here," Major said. "They are no damn good to us." Beer found in one car entering the park was poured on the road by security personnel.

Mayor Davidson offered to have native leaders speak to the city council, but they said they would do so only if the meeting was in the park.

In 1965, Kenora was the scene of a march of more than 400 native people on a city council meeting to present a list of grievances. The marchers got a hearing, and later some promises, and then dispersed quietly. Then, last November 70 members of the Ojibway Warriors Society occupied the offices of the Indian Affairs Branch for just over 24 hours. Again, they left when promised an audience with a government official.



However, the only reaction which seemed to have come out of the occupation was a complaint by Indian Affairs employees that the Warriors' Society had walked off with about \$1400-worth of cameras, radios, and other personal effects.

"We learned from our mistakes," Louis Cameron said. "This time we are not leaving until we see some positive results."

But Mayor Davidson was of a different mind. He said that the native position was "blackmail".

Davidson said he thought the talks would be "much more productive if the Indians would abandon their occupation first."

AKWESASNE NOTES



—Globe and Mail/Rudy Platiel photo
Vern Bellecourt of AIM addressing demonstrators at Queen's Park in Toronto about Kenora situation

But if federal officials weren't anxious to come to Kenora to negotiate, leaders of the American Indian Movement came to Toronto to support demonstrations there in front of the Ontario Legislative Building. Vernon Bellecourt told the group assembled there that Canadians would have to face up to problems, or face increasing native militancy.

To those hecklers who accused Bellecourt of being an "outside agitator," he replied that he was an Ojibwa, like those who occupied the park.

There are no precise figures, but the northwestern Ontario area is home for about 50,000 native people, or about one-third of the province's total native population. The majority are "non-status" natives — either Metis or non-treaty people not eligible for federal assistance. In the towns, with little education and few job skills, many end up in shanties, rejected by the community. Children who leave their parents to go to schools in the towns face a huge difference in culture and language. Even teachers are complaining now that they don't have sufficient knowledge of the native people to understand their needs.

During the Warriors' Society occupation last year, five grievances were set out, including compensation for the mercury poisoning of the fisheries, an end to unnecessary violence and beatings by local police, elimination of discrimination in the community, a return of several scrolls of significant spiritual value to members of an Anishnawbeg Medicine Society, and an end to the James Bay Project in Quebec.

At that time, Louis Cameron, a leader of the Warriors' Society, gave some indication of the demands which might be arising in the future. "We want basic freedom of government," he said. "Complete economic jurisdiction over our communities is needed. Society as it is now is going to collapse soon. We are going back to our elders and learning the old ways. We try to keep our people together, with themselves. This way we can have personal, societal, and governmental unity."

Cameron urged Indians to start to actualize their history as well as reading about it. He said native people should "be living and making history" rather than being familiar with the last two hundred years.

Still another warning was issued in June, over a month before the armed occupation of the park. It too was listened to politely, but little material action resulted.

That blunt warning was issued to a group of Ontario cabinet ministers at a public meeting in Kenora. Robert Major, an Anishnawbe, says he has watched the troubles of the "homeless native people" who live on Kenora streets. "If the present process of receiving Indian people in this town is continued at its current rate, and no arrangements are made to correct the present situation, then the destruction of the town by men whose only outlet from the despair and frustration encountered in their lives is violence, then the prospect for Kenora may very well be what has prevailed south of us."

There are no jobs open, Major says. He is executive director of the Grand Council of 23 chiefs in this far northwestern Ontario treaty area.

Mayor James Davidson says he too is concerned. "The Indians come to Kenora to try to break into a white society that doesn't accept them. There's no work, but there is welfare."

Some of the cabinet ministers present at the meeting had ideas to treat the symptoms, if not the problem.

Health Minister Frank Miller announced a \$200,000 government plan to buy land and build a "detoxication centre" and \$128,000 a year to run it.

Rene Brunelle, minister of Community and Social Services, promised a 20-bed halfway house for the treatment of alcoholics.

The white residents of Kenora are bitter. They say the town has acquired a "bad image" because of the native people drunk on the streets.



Their mayor says he does not have any answers, but he has lots of questions. "Why do humans of any race or condition in life in this wealthy province of Ontario eat from the garbage cans?" he asked the official delegation. "What conditions of life reduce individuals to seek oblivion in the cheap fortified wines that are sold by the Ontario Liquor Control Board in great quantities from the Main Street outlet in Kenora?"

Last year, the Kenora police made nearly 7,000 pickups for drunkenness in a town with a population of 11,000. Priority is given to those who pass out on the sidewalks. Others go unnoticed and die from exposure in wintertime. Others may die in fires, car accidents, suicides, murders, drownings — with alcohol as a contributing factor.

Mayor Davidson says he doesn't think that the Indians drink more than the whites — it's just that the white drunks have homes to go to, he says.

But while the official delegation considered the matter, the problem continued. That day, the provincial liquor store did its usual brisk business, selling about 300 bottles of the popular \$1.20 Jordan Branvin Canadian Sherry.

Where Life Should be Paradise . . .

In theory, life for the 475 Anishnawbeg who live on the Grassy Narrows Reservation and the 600 members of the Islington Band at White Dog should be a thing to be envied by harassed city dwellers. After all, they live in a spot highly sought-after by wealthy sportsmen.

The reservations — one 70 miles northeast of Kenora and the other a bit further to the northwest — are surrounded by the rugged beauty of forests and lakes that stretch to the timbered horizon. The air tastes fresh and clean and free from exhaust fumes and the waters sparkle with diamond-studded sunlight.

It's the sort of place where a traveler may have to slow her car to let a galloping black bear and her cubs across the road, and at night you can catch the glint of flag-tailed deer making their ballet leaps into the bus as you drive to the reservation.

In reality, the life there for the Anishnawbeg is miserable.

The men who commission songs about the beauties of Ontario carefully give places like Grassy Narrows and White Dog a wide berth. It's bad for the image — in Canada's "Province of Opportunity."

Life on the two reserves today is a lacklustre affair of welfare payments and temporary "make work" projects, of confusion, nostalgia, sadness for lost livelihood and despair for lost pride. Something has changed a great deal since the white settlers moved in.

"You know what 'reservation' means in Indian?" asked an intense likeable 27-year-old band councillor named Tom Keesik. "It means 'leftover.' The white man came and took our land and now he gives us what's left. Then he pollutes that."

He and his people at Grassy Narrows continue to live leftover lives — much of what is Indian has been taken away, and what is left has been polluted. They turn violently inward, tearing themselves apart as more and more people seek escape in the bottom of a bottle.

On Kenora's streets... native people with no way to go but up — and back to the Good Ways.



Life on the two reserves was bad enough before the commercial fishing industry was closed down because of the mercury pollution. [See article on previous page.] Now things have gone so far, native leaders within the communities, desperately searching for ways to salvage the decaying social remains, privately wonder if it isn't already too late.

Meanwhile, a plethora of Federal, provincial, private, and church institutions form and re-form study groups and seminars to discuss "short term" and "long term" solutions to the problem. The seminars are held far from the reserves, where sometimes gangs of drunken youths terrorize residents with rifles and shotguns, where vicious beatings and fights erupt amongst families, children die of neglect because their families were on a despondent "don't give a damn" drunken spree.

"Short term" solutions are already too late for the boy who drank himself into a state of stupor, topped it off with a session of glue-sniffing, and finally shot a

white storekeeper to death in an attempted hold-up. Or for the mother who had to hide out in the bush with her children all night in fear of the group of drunken adults who literally tore her house apart because of a real or fancied grievance. Or for those who drowned or for those who were decapitated after lying in the path of an oncoming train; or for those who committed suicide — "almost a fad around here for a while," as one White Dog resident described it.

Wayne Edmonstone of *The Toronto Sun* said that during his visit there, a house was still smouldering at White Dog ("They burned it out last night," Chief Roy MacDonald said), and a grizzled old man rushed into a house Edmonstone was visiting to lament that his son had just drowned while travelling by boat "to buy some booze" in Manitoba — he had fallen overboard into the choppy, frigid lake.

The evidence is there to see for anyone who wants to make the rib-jarring 70-mile trip over a private logging-company road from Kenora to the garbage-strewn hovels of Grassy Narrows or the \$30 taxi-ride to the exquisitely beautiful lake that harbors the violence-haunted community of White Dog.

And although the problems of alcoholism and violence existed to a degree on these two reservations before the commercial fishery was closed in 1970 because of mercury pollution, even the Ontario Government's Mercury "Task Force" which "surveyed" the area in March, 1973, admitted that "the mercury problem... would appear to have played a significant role" in what they now call "the deteriorating social conditions."

But the government investigators and politicians who tour the area seem oblivious to the frightening, criminal waste of human beings living in those "social conditions." Officials become like the Kenora residents who walk unseeing past the sodden and comatose Indians who lie in a welter of broken bottles within sight of Kenora's ultra-modern Holiday Inn on the waterfront.

Over a recent three-year period, there were 174 violent deaths among the people there, a few thousand of "Canada's first citizens."

Projecting the statistics on a per capita basis against a city the size of Toronto, the violent death toll there would be about 10,000 annually.

A "Violent Deaths Committee" said that at least 80 homes were needed for native people in Kenora alone. "They are living in old cars, at the dumps — places like that," committee chairman Rory McMillian said. "Others spend half the year in jail and the rest at the detoxification center." The report also proposes a civilian force of whites and Indians organized in radio-equipped street patrols to supplement current police efforts.

The report categorizes the causes of deaths as drownings (43), gunshot, hanging and stabbing (38), fire (30), train accidents, motor vehicle accidents, child neglect, exposure (108). "If anything, the figures are conservative," McMillian said. The native population of the area is between three and five thousand.

Another patrol had to be organized last winter to seek out children abandoned on city streets. The Children's Aid Society had to admit 300 children into care in 1973 as a result of abandonment by parents or accidental separation. The patrol was made up of four street workers who travelled in pairs during the winter nights. The federal government was willing to put up \$11,187 for this kind of program.

There are lots of agencies in the area — most function as social garbage collectors and do not deal with basic causes. There is the Children's Aid Society, welfare officials, the Indian Affairs offices.

Indian Affairs personnel talk of "bringing people out of the Stone Age and into the Nuclear Age" and of the necessity of "listening to the Indian" version of their needs. But officials of the Treaty Three Grand Council accuse the Indian Affairs people of strangling development plans in red tape and "breaking the initiative and will of the people."

Concerned civil servants claim they are muzzled by an "unwritten but explicit directive" not to meddle in the affairs of the bands. But John Fullmer, a Methodist minister and former president of Amik, an organization which forms cooperatives on reserves, of using make-work and welfare to destroy the influence of Indian co-ops. "How can you win a fight against a multi-billion dollar monster which is out to protect its interests and is out to destroy you?" he asks.



Fullmer says the only solution to the problem is for the native people to have control over their own affairs — a view shared by the Treaty Three officials.

In truth, even some of the projects approved by government officials appear so expensively bizarre as to reflect a kind of bureaucratic mental cruelty.

A million-dollar recreation centre is being built at Grassy Narrows, a community with no sanitation facilities and housing so inadequate as to be an affront to the entire country of Canada.

And a giant, fortress-like school complex with teachers' housing which would do credit to any Toronto suburb is being constructed at White Dog, which has some electricity but no sanitation and where the social life is totally dissolute.

"Isn't that a fine morale builder?" a white social worker said as she drove reporter Wayne Edmonstone of the *Toronto Sun* past the hovels of White Dog and around the new school. "The kids all hate it," she said. "I hope they burn the goddam thing to the ground."

"We Feel Helpless" — Principal

Part of the problems of the native people is that the educational system does not meet the needs of their children — and probably it won't for generations to come.

"We feel basically helpless," said Patrick Sayeau, principal of Red Lake High School. "The school system just doesn't have any pertinence to the social conditions under which children are living."

Some say the fault lies with parents who fail to prepare their children for "white society" which exercises total colonial control even in 100% native communities.

I.W. Harland, a United Church minister and the deputy reeve [mayor] of Red Lake, says, "Among native peoples, parents who had themselves been raised under traditional Indian customs are unable to cope with or understand what is expected of children in a white society. The combination of the language barrier together with the fact that a child has missed much schooling [because attendance regulations are not enforced] brings about a situation where 11 and 13 year olds may still be struggling through Grade 1."

In Fort Francis, Ontario, the touring official delegation was urged to start programs to teach teachers the culture and history of native people. The local high school has had two Grade 13 Indian students in the past ten years.

It may be that way for a while. Robert Steele, regional director of education, said, "I don't think there's an answer in this generation. If every generation could have one year more of school than their fathers did, then I think we would be showing real progress. If our expectations are high, then our frustration level will also be high."

Apparently, if educators give themselves 160 years to educate the native people, there will be little frustration among them. Whether native people will be able to stand their own frustration is another matter.

"We're Sorry To Have To Bust Your School Windows"



(Two teen-age girls at Grassy Narrows who had no previous record of trouble, broke windows in the reserve school and the Hudson's Bay Store. They readily admitted their guilt, and explained in court that they wanted to be taken off the reserve because of the drunkenness and violence.

(They were returned to the reserve, however — where they promptly broke more windows, and left the following letter for Principal James Sayre. They talk about "your school" — not "our school." Their feelings are typical of those who cannot understand how and why they have gotten into the situation they find themselves in, and blame their people, believing that the social disorganization they see around them is "the Indian Way.")

"We're sorry to have to bust your school windows again, but that's our only choice. Call the police for that and prefer charges on us. Because we think that Mr. Johnson [a school official] doesn't care, he doesn't ask us questions about how we're getting along and we think he's no good. We do this so we'll be sent away to a school far away from Grassy and Kenora where there aren't no drunkards. We are unhappy at home because our parents are only drinking and they are still drinking tonight and they'll probably still be drinking tomorrow.

"We hate it here at Grassy because the whole reserve is full of drunks. That's what people can do — drink. Even girls, boys, and little kids. And we don't like to become that way. We want good education, go to school — but not here. We don't want to be poor like these Grassy N. people. We want to work when we're well educated. And there's always bad talk at homes. We know smashing windows is wrong, and you'll be boiling mad again.

"We're trying to be honest and good but we know nobody will

consider us that way for doing a lot of mischief. We're really sorry to say this, but if we're not sent away, your school will be a total wreck. We are really sorry. Show this letter to the OPP's [the provincial police].



We're not really that bad but this is our only choice. Good-bye. Please forgive us someday when you feel sorry for the miserable way we live.

Dennis Banks, an Anishnawbeg AIM leader on trial in St. Paul for the occupation of Wounded Knee, flew into the meeting to address the occupation on invitation of the group in the park. He said Canadian immigration officials had warned him not to make any inflammatory statements at the conference.

Although generally, native leaders feel that now that the Liberal Party has a majority stronghold on the government of Canada as a result of the July election, that they can expect trouble in making gains for native people, Banks said he was told that "there was a new government in Canada and things may start improving for the Indians without violence."

Banks told the occupation force that native people should continue to explore every peaceful way to obtain a better life for themselves and future generations, but that if it took violence to prevent further dissolution of native culture, then violence was necessary.

There were certain responses to the occupation which were similar to the responses to the occupation of Wounded Knee. For instance, David Ahenakew, chairman of the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians, said the occupation would only agitate an already-explosive situation, and that "Saskatchewan cannot support, and the Indian people of this province certainly can't support that kind of approach."

He said that members of the American Indian Movement should be deported, but he did not specify to which country — many of the AIM members are "Canadian-born."

Ahenakew said, "There are proper channels to follow in land-right disputes and they should be used."

Ahenakew's stance was supported editorially by the Toronto *Globe and Mail*, although such support would seem to weaken his position. The confusion in which white Canadians find themselves is evident in the newspaper opinion — unhappy that Canada has treated native peoples so grossly unfairly, and equally unhappy that it has taken armed Indians to press that point.

"We have had more than time enough in Canada to learn how grossly we have failed to deal decently and honorably with the Indian people," the *Globe* says. "But of the extent of our failure, at least, we are only too painfully aware. And there is no need for people to come here from elsewhere on this continent to make that elementary point." Alleging that the armed occupation "will be neither welcome or useful" to Canadian "Indian leaders in their struggle to win justice", it suggests that the "well-organized Indian movement in Canada has much more sophisticated and effective ways of making itself heard."

The elected council heads of the area composing the Treaty 3 Grand Council didn't much like the occupation either. But the dislike was mutual: the Warriors' Society said the elected leaders are doing very little to stop the flow of their people to skid row.



Sustaining life while maintaining an armed occupation to bring about change in the lives of native people in the Kenora area: a scene from the park. As of August 14, the occupation was still in effect.

About all the negotiators were able to agree upon was a temporary truce. The native people would keep their guns out of sight, and the town would pledge not to make any attempts to retake the park.

"Let them have the park," Davidson said. "After a week or so they will drift away and there will be no problem."

In Ottawa, Indian Affairs Minister Jean Chretien said the occupation was a "local matter" and the Canadian Government did not intend to get involved. Speaking through a departmental spokesman, Chretien saw the occupation as a simple land claim, and said that the Indians should seek title in the "normal way" through the department's claims branch. He added that he had not received any "formal communication."

The Kenora land was, of course, undeniably Anishnawbe. Then it fell into the hands of a private owner. In about 1929, the Canadian Government, as part of a broader agreement, bought the land as a campground for native people who came into Kenora to trade. According to the department, the park became "an eyesore" and the town of Kenora offered to purchase it for \$1,875. The transaction was completed without consultation with native peoples.

During the course of the weekend conference, participants asked bars and lounges to close for the duration of the meeting. Mayor Davidson said the bar owners had refused to close because it would have been an insult to the Indian people.

"We don't close down the lounges when the Kiwanis, Lions, or other clubs have conferences here, so why should we discriminate against the Indians when they have a conference?" Davidson said, giving an unusual twist to reverse bias.

The announced purpose of the conference was hardly sufficient to warrant the massive police presence: it was to discuss the role of the Ojibway Nation today, and how native people are treated in the Kenora area.

The Ontario Provincial Police announced that it had purchased a Beaver aircraft and would start flying into native communities. They insisted that the announcement had nothing to do with the occupation in Kenora. Twenty policemen had been selected to serve Indian communities, and they would have specialized instruction, including native philosophy and culture. Commissioner H.H. Graham said the twenty were chosen because they "wanted to take a crack at the Indian problem."

"A Cure For Which There Is No Disease"

(This comment is by Wayne Edmonstone, written for the Toronto Sun. We are grateful to him and to his publication for his insights.)

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Anyone who reads the mass of reports, studies, pamphlets, newsletters and other printed material emanating from agencies in the area designed to help Indians solve their problems, inevitably ends up feeling like he's been listening to a character created by humorist Victor Borge.

Borge's mythical character was a scientist who invented "A Cure for Which There Is No Disease" — and who later caught the cure and died.

In the case of the reserves of White Dog and Grassy Narrows, the simile is frighteningly apt.

Virtually everyone in "authority" is busy recognizing and to some extent treating "symptoms" — from alcoholism to fear of strangers — in the forlorn hope that the unnamed, unspeakable disease that is rotting the lifeblood from the communities will somehow clear up or go away.

Some admit hopes the disease will clear up by killing the patients.

But if the disease has no name, it at least has a traceable genealogy which can be found in

history books and treaties, in contemporary documents such as court records, coroners' reports, or even the pamphlet Indian Life and Canadian Law which I heartily recommend to the troglodytes who write snotty letters to newspapers complaining about "Indians who won't do anything to help themselves."

This "nameless disease" is the offspring of years of defeat and acceptance, whose parents were decades of paternalism and disinterest, who in turn were sired by centuries of conquest and arrogance.

And it's contagious — contaminating both "doctor" and "patient" until whites who are willing to acknowledge the inequalities of the past steadfastly blind themselves to the inequalities of the present, and until Indians who see only barely concealed contempt respond with scarcely contained hatred. And also while the drum-and-bugle band political medicine-salesmen of the democratic free enterprise system continually equate and confuse rhetoric with results — unless the results can be shown to "turn a profit."

It's not surprising, then, that in a society-at-large where the two most significant words in the lexicon are "produce" and "consume", the problems of the Indians are discussed mainly in financial terms, even by Indians.

Nor is it particularly odd in a society-at-large where the experts and specialists of the academic and intellectual communities vie with each other for the chance to wave their wooden swords in the manner of state-sponsored condottiere on some well-paid government study, that the problems of the Indians are more readily reported than rectified.

You feel like saying to hell with them all — see, you've caught the disease too.

There's an antidote. It's the young.

The young who eventually won't listen to [whites] anymore. The ones who will learn to forget about [whites] and [their] opinions and take things their own way. The ones who will get fed up enough to

"Experts" who would appear to have difficulty in properly organizing a two-car funeral have turned "studying the Indian" into a full-time committee-oriented industry.

Indian groups who follow their lead recruit activists, hold meetings, form committees, apply for grants, mimeograph bulletins, and soon are gradually absorbed into the bureaucratic routine they are being conditioned to emulate.

What would the reaction be, for example, if the violence at White Dog was happening in, say, any Toronto suburb? How many Children's Aid homes would be allowed to continue operation if their "wards" were left in the same sort of conditions as obtain today in White Dog and Grassy Narrows for these "wards of the government"?

There would be about three Royal Commissions, adequate police would be on the scene in no time, and in the case of the homes, there would be a hell of a lot of ex-staff perusing the want ads.

Instead, Federal and provincial governments act like something out of a New Yorker cartoon in which a man is standing on a dock watching a swimmer drown. "I can't swim!" the drowning man calls out. "Would \$10 help?" the spectator asks.



Under the guise of "building up the morale of the Indian people" virtually all the differing organizations publish self-congratulatory literature about their successes, which appear ludicrous in the light of the failure to deal with the total problem.

trade in their copies of Robert's Rules of Order for a volume of Frantz Fanon.

You don't know who Fanon is? Neither do they... yet. But he was writing for them. Unless [Canadians] change their attitudes and methods.



STERILIZATION OF YOUNG NATIVE WOMEN ALLEGED AT INDIAN HOSPITAL — 48 OPERATIONS IN JULY, 1974 ALONE

Claremore, Oklahoma — The small Indian Health Service hospital here in July, 1974, performed surgery on 48 native women — most of them in their twenties — making it impossible for them to have more children.

At the same time this sterilization campaign was being carried out, Indian patients were turned away by the hospital on the grounds that there were not sufficient funds to care for them.

Several hundred sterilizations had been done in the last two years, hospital records show.

The operations were either hysterectomies — the removal of the womb — or bilateral tubal ligations, the tying of the tubes in the female reproductive system making it impossible to conceive children. In normal medical practice, hysterectomies are rare in women of child-bearing age unless there is cancer or other medical problems.

"In most medical circles, any hysterectomy under age 40 must be approved by a medical review board," Dr. Connie Uri, a Choctaw/Cherokee physician conducting an investigation of the hospital said.

According to Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) officials in Washington, any woman wishing to be sterilized can have surgery performed at her request, but after a 72-hour waiting period. Her husband must also sign, and the physician is required to explain that she will not be deprived of any benefits, such as welfare, if she does not have the operation.

Some native women who have had IHS sterilization tell case histories which would indicate that this policy is not sufficient. One said that she was harassed so by social workers and hospital personnel who told her she was a bad mother, that she drank too much, that her children would be placed in foster homes. Finally, she consented to the operation. Now she has remarried and her husband wants to have children. But it's too late — she can't have any more — her womb is gone.

The Claremore sterilization practices were exposed when Indian nurses in the hospital complained about discriminatory personnel practices of the white hospital administrator and the white supervisor of nursing.

They first appeared at the "Indian Advisory Board," a group of nine people appointed by tribal councils. The board did nothing to relieve their complaints. So they went to the people, and a group came to the hospital to pitch a tipi on the lawn, and to raise the AIM flag on the hospital mast.

The last occupation of a IHS hospital didn't produce much result — but it was held inside the Gallup Indian Hospital's administrative wing, not on the lawn. That action took place early in 1973 when an Indian employee of the hospital became upset at the standard of medical care he said his wife had received there when she came as a patient.

The Claremore grievances also were brought out into the open by one of the least-paid members of the staff — a kitchen worker named Grover James. He was persistent in his presenting grievances through the usual channels, and when there were no results, he called in

outside assistance. Apparently he was in touch with the feelings of the people — hundreds came from the surrounding hills to help the negotiations along.

Gradually, other problems emerged. Some nurses were conducting surgical practices which Oklahoma law says must be performed by a licensed physician.

Physicians said that they had ordered vital medicines for their patients, that the hospital did not have them nor were there funds to obtain them, and patients were without funds to buy them for themselves.

Patients were turned away by hospital officials who said they were not sick enough to be admitted. The same patients then sought admission to hospitals in Tulsa, and were found to be ill enough for admission. One woman had pneumonia — her bill was \$1400 from the Tulsa hospital before she was released.



Indians living farther than 30 miles from the hospital are routinely denied admission. Washington HEW official Robert Hayward says, however, that policy dictates that any Indian at any time can receive the full range of services from any IHS hospital.

The negotiating team discussing these situations consists of Dr. Uri, who practices medicine in California and is a graduate of the University of Arkansas medical school, registered nurse Phyllis Jackson, a Creek, and Milo Fat Beaver, an inhalation therapist. Besides negotiating, the group have been conducting clinic in the tipi, providing services which patients preferred to obtain there — or which were unavailable to them in the hospital.

Another grievance centered around Milo Fat Beaver, a professional inhalation therapist. Negotiators wondered why Indians were being encouraged to go into health careers "to help their people" when many of the positions for which they are trained are not on IHS rosters. For instance, despite the fact that respiratory ailments like tuberculosis, pneumonia, and influenza contribute to the high native mortality rates, throughout the U.S. the IHS has none on its staff. Most hospitals in an ordinary-sized city would have a full-time therapist active.

There are two medical programs administered by the federal government. One is the Public Health Service under which IHS falls, and the other is Veteran's Administration. The VA gets funds based on patient/days — the more patients, the more the allocation. Indian hospitals receive a flat amount — when it is gone, it's gone. Pay scales are lower for Indian Service physicians, as well.

There is no doubt that medical services are in short supply at Claremore, or that the staff are overworked. When there is surgery, doctors have to be taken from

the clinics to assist — sometimes patients are still waiting in the hallway long after dark. Some of the nearby hospitals, such as Pawnee IHS, do not have surgical staff, referring their patients to the over-loaded Claremore Hospital. Most doctors assigned to Claremore stay only a year or so.

Overseeing the problem is John W. Davis, a Creek-Seminole born in Okemah, just named to the position of IHS Area Director in February. He is the son of John F. Davis, a former principal chief of the Creek Nation appointed by U.S. President Harry Truman. He is responsible for administration of preventative and curative health programs for Indians in Oklahoma and Kansas — six Indian hospitals, 15 health centers, 20 health stations, plus an environmental health program involving sanitation facilities construction in Indian communities.

On August 8, John Davis flew in by private aircraft, and announced negotiations would have to be held to one hour as he had other appointments. But by the time he and his pilot took off, the native negotiators had a signed agreement suspending chief nurse Dorothy Rennie and supervisory nurse Stella Richards from performing direct patient services until allegations against them could be investigated. Hospital administrator Thomas Talamini was to be shifted to another post, and progress reports on investigations were to be filed with Milo Fat Beaver at regular intervals.

Davis also agreed that "the record of surgical procedures at this hospital resulting in the sterilization of young Indian men and women is genocidal. Even if many of these operations were done at the request of the patient, it is all too obvious that there is little or no attention given to proper counseling as to the serious implications of such a decision." He agreed that sterilization would be halted until each case had been given full and careful study by a competent review committee, that there be complete pre-operative counseling — and also that native men wouldn't have to cut off their braids to be employed at the hospital.



Dr. Uri says she happened to check into the number of sterilizations which had been performed as a result of conversations she has had at various powwows and Indian events where she has assisted with health care. She said that numerous women had come to her asking how they could once again have Indian children. Further inquiry indicated that their surgery had been in IHS hospitals at various points in the U.S., usually a day or so after they had given birth to children.

Persons interested in supporting native people in this matter should contact their senators and congressmen, asking that they pressure Indian Health Service to declare a moratorium on sterilization of native women until an investigation can be held by independent medical auditors, and appropriate review committees set up for screening.

WOUNDED KNEE DEFENDER, ARRESTED ON ROBBERY CHARGE, AIDED BY MOTHER'S EFFORTS TO FINANCE APPEAL CASE

Weleetka, Oklahoma — The mother of a young defender of Wounded Knee who has just received a forty-year sentence in state courts here is attempting to raise enough money to finance an appeal of his case.

Lance Yellow Hand is known by the state of Oklahoma as Alvin Daniel Sands, a Seminole-Creek. In Wounded Knee, he was recognized as a natural leader — he had been active in the occupation of Alcatraz, Pit River actions, and other causes. Since his arrival at the Oklahoma State Penitentiary at McAlester, he has been classified as a "political activist" and an "Indian revolutionist", meaning that he is kept in isolation from other prisoners. When he is let out into the exercise yard, he is alone. Letters from family and friends are his only reading material.

Yellow Hand's friends say it is almost irrelevant at this point if he was guilty or not of the robbery for which he is now serving time — they say the police were trying to get him on something — anything — and a 40 year sentence for a 26-year-old man is heavy justice. Two of four persons originally charged with the alleged robbery were acquitted after spending 7 months in jail.

Other former associates, including some leaders of the American Indian Movement, have made no secret that they were not happy with his disagreements with them on policies and actions. In Oklahoma, there are two American Indian Movements or more — the "national" AIM and the "independent" AIM.

The circumstances of his arrest are not a credit to any movement — but then, sentences are supposed to be passed on facts of innocence or guilt. Yellow Hand was

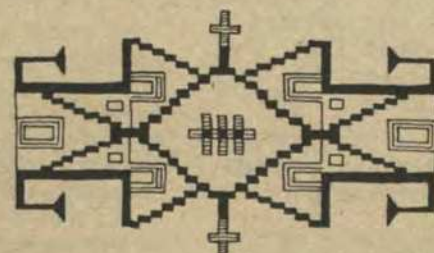
arrested November 17, 1973, when he and a group of companions were barhopping. One man had too much to drink, and was passed out in a car on a parking lot of a private club. A police officer was taking him into custody when Yellow Hand came out to see what was going on. After his arrest, the car in which they were riding was searched, and three automatic rifles were found in the trunk. All Indians in the bar were brought out and threatened with arrest and eventually six more Indians joined Yellow Hand in custody.

Indications that the police were happy for an excuse to arrest the group appeared early. They say they were taken in pairs before policemen reporting for their shifts, and pointed at as potential "cop-killers" and that if they were seen on the streets, the police should "take care of them."

When the quartet was arraigned, bail was set at \$200,000 each. Although it was lowered somewhat, it could not be met. There was difficulty in finding lawyers who would take the case. In March, Lance appeared in federal court charged with having an illegal unregistered machine gun — the same automatic rifle he was supposed to have used in the two armed robberies. On 19 April, he was acquitted.

He went to trial in state court in March, and was found guilty and sentenced to 25 years imprisonment. On another count, he appeared on 21 May, and after a two-day trial, he and the owner of the car parked outside the private club when he was arrested were convicted. Lance Yellow Hand got 15 years, and the car-owner 25. The two others charged were acquitted. Friends say there were enough irregularities in the trial to warrant an appeal.

That's what Lance's mother, Margaret Sands, is working on. She has opened a Legal Defense Fund in the State National Bank, hoping that a second trial will vindicate her son, or lessen the time until he will be free to rejoin his family and his people.



Persons wishing to contribute to the defense fund can make checks payable to the Lance Yellow Hand Legal Defense Fund, and mail them to:

Margaret Sands
POBox 481
Weleetka, Oklahoma
(telephone [405] 786-2502)

Lance Yellow Hand can be written by addressing him at:

Alvin Sands 88338
POBox 97
McAlester, Oklahoma 74501

OTOE LANDOWNERS FACE ANOTHER REMOVAL AS POWER COMPANY WANTS ANOTHER DAM FOR 'ENERGY CRISIS'

Red Rock, Oklahoma — Otoe landowners and their neighbors alike are united here in their opposition to having their farms — some of the most productive land in the state — flooded for a new electric generating plant and cooling lake.

The Oklahoma Gas & Electric Company (OG&E) wants to start construction this summer, but militancy from the farmers is slowing down acquisition of the 13,000 acres needed for the project.



OG&E pleads energy crisis. The farmers contend that not only are their rights being trampled on, but that continued conversion of fertile farmland to non-food-producing use can lead to a food crisis that would dwarf the energy crisis in its impact.

The farmers are pitted against the power company's mighty public relations machine and a staff of 14 lawyers.

"We have to make a living and fight them at the same time," one farmwife commented. The power company claims that it has the right of eminent domain — that if it wants the farms, owners are compelled to accept a fair price and get out.

Mr. and Mrs. Dewey Dailey are Otoe people who have farmed their 200-acre spread since 1936. All but one reservation in Oklahoma was terminated years ago, so native people must locate their own lands, generally.

The Daileys reared seven children, built the land into a paying farm, and rebuilt again when a fire destroyed their home in 1950. Dailey is now 72, and says he's too old to move out and start over.

Mrs. Dailey remembers the day 38 years ago when her husband bought the farm. "They didn't want to let Dewey have the farm because they didn't think an Indian would take care of the land," she says.

About one-third of the land sought by OG&E is owned by Otoe people. They have enlisted the aid of Ken Black, chairman of the tribal council in Oklahoma City, to testify in their behalf.

At a recent hearing before the Oklahoma Water Resources Board, Black protested the board's decision to grant permission to OG&E to use water from the Arkansas River for their big cooling lake.

"My people can't afford to lose any more land or any more water," Black said. "We've given up too much already. If this power plant was non-profit and all the people in Oklahoma were going to benefit, I'd say 'fine.' If my people were going to get free electricity, I'd say 'fine.' If everyone in Oklahoma was going to get a cut in their electricity rates, I'd say 'fine.' But you don't have the authority to come out on lands and allocate them to corporations for the purpose of making a profit."

Procedure for condemning land owned by Indians is more complicated than that for other land, Black points out. Any condemnation or legal action must go through Federal courts. But while this may delay condemnation of the land, it's no guarantee that the final outcome will be any different.

"I've spent my 17 years as a councilman fighting dams and corporate encroachment," says Black. "If we didn't fight it, every acre of Indian land in Oklahoma would be covered with water. We're going to fight for every acre we have left."



But while farmers are looking out for their land, some local townspeople are looking forward to the new tax revenue that will be generated by the plant. Red Rock's school superintendent, Don Bromlow, says the new tax money will mean, maybe, a heated swimming pool and a football team. Others look forward to the jobs which the construction will bring even if they will only be temporary ones.

But for the Otoe people, it is the land, for they recognize, if no one else does, that land is life.

[Thanks to Jill Susan Rowe of the Farmland News]

CONVICTIONS IN 'THE GREAT FEATHER RING' CASE TO BE APPEALED

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma — U.S. Magistrate Charles R. Jones rejected contentions by native defendants that a statute outlawing the sale of migratory bird feathers violated their religious freedom and found native defendants guilty in what has become known as "The Great Feather Ring Case." The federal government's crackdown on what it calls "feather merchants" will apparently have to be resolved in higher courts when the matter is heard on appeal.

"Everything I've ever stood for has been taken away from me. I've been destroyed." So said Charles Henry Bushyhead, a 33-year-old Cheyenne, one of the few Indians in history ever convicted in court for selling feathers — specifically four magpie feathers and one scissor-tailed fly-catcher feather.

Of the fourteen Indians charged in Oklahoma, three were convicted, a fourth pleaded guilty, and 11 more were still facing trials. Eleven white men were also charged with illegal feather sales, and all pleaded guilty.

The four Indians were put on two years' probation, and the whites were fined \$250 to \$500 and some were put on probation besides. Many people worry that if the Government has success in this round of cases, there will be further prosecutions and native people will be forced to wear their headdresses and bustles and eagle feathers only in underground ceremonies.

"Our feathers are to us what your Bible is to you," Bushyhead explained. "It's a way of life."

Explains another defendant, Charlotte Duxteter, a Kiowa shopkeeper and housewife, "Feathers are like diamonds to the Indian." Some Indians contend that their right to possess and trade feathers is protected by treaties and that the Migratory Birds Act conflicts with their right to practice their religious beliefs.

According to the Government, the Migratory Bird Treaty Act forbids possessing, trading, or selling feathers of certain migratory birds. The Government also contends that 40,000 feathers were seized in the first week of April, including 2,000 eagle feathers. It implies that the birds were slaughtered, and that the reason for all this isn't religion or tradition, but rather money.

The defendants say, however, that they generally get their feathers from dead birds along the roadside. They also say some of the feathers seized by federal agents are generations old. Mrs. Duxteter says her arrest

involved a feathered fan used for religious ceremonies. Referring to the federal agent who arrested her, she says indignantly, "This guy had the nerve to ask me, 'Why don't you dance in something else?'"

The Interior Department has belatedly admitted that it has touched a sensitive nerve among Indians, and that it is opening a study centering on the conflict of the Migratory Bird Treaty Act with Indian culture. Attorneys for the Indians say they will appeal the convictions to the U.S. Supreme Court, if necessary, and will seek to change the current law.

Senator Henry Bellmon of Oklahoma said that if the BIA couldn't or wouldn't give exemption to the law for feathers used for cultural, religious, or ceremonial purposes, he would introduce legislation to provide such authority. Bellmon said he also had received a commitment from the U.S. Attorney for Western Oklahoma that he would not prosecute any Indians "who have possession of migratory bird feathers purely for religious or ceremonial purposes."

Arrests in Colorado, Too

In Pueblo, Colorado, Billy Lee Little Soldier, a Delaware medicine person, says that Christians don't have to register their Bibles and he shouldn't be required to register his eagle feathers.

"My feathers play a very important part in my life," Little Soldier says. "As a tribal medicine man, being without my feathers is like going to a Bible-reading without my Bible."



While Little Soldier was not charged, Carolyn Myers, 17, was. She said she and Little Soldier plucked the feathers from the carcass of a dead eagle lying along a Kansas highway. The feathers were seized in her home by State Division of Wildlife conservation officer James Goodyear.

"All wildlife is the property of the state," Goodyear says. "It is my job to put out a complaint when a person has a part of an eagle in his or her possession."

The conflict of interest within the Department of Interior is evident. On the one hand are agents of the

Department's Fisheries and Wildlife bureau breaking into homes with search warrants looking for feathers, and on the other are agents of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Indian Arts and Crafts Commission encouraging the growth and sales of Indian arts. In fact, one of the defendants had been hired by the BIA to teach feather crafts at Haskell Institute, a BIA-operated junior college in Kansas.

Browning Pipestem, an attorney representing four of those charged, says Interior Secretary Morton could have exercised his trust obligations by informing Indians that ownership of feathers might be in violation of laws, and trying to arrive at some agreement. He said there were a number of ways Morton could have settled the problem without using prosecution, a last resort, as a first step.

The bulk of the legal defense funds and legal assistance came from the Oklahoma Indian Rights Association, 106 East Constitution, Norman, Oklahoma 73069. OIRA has been active for four years and has handled over 1,000 cases involving discrimination and native rights.

This last winter, Heard Museum in Phoenix was told by federal agents to remove from sale two items in an all-Indian arts and crafts show. One was a Chickasaw ceremonial fan with owl feathers, the other a Mission wall-hanging with one eagle feather. In June, during the Museum of Northern Arizona's all-Hopi exhibition at Flagstaff, every single feathered item — katchinas, arrows, wedding robes, gourd rattles — were declared illegal if the feathers didn't come from sparrows, starlings, chickens, or pigeons. Many craftsmen removed their pieces from the show. For the Hopi, the feathers are a necessary ingredient for religious practice.

Barton Wright of the Museum of Northern Arizona said that one of the problems was that each federal agent seems to interpret the law his own way. One says it's only eagle feathers they are interested in, another says all feathers including game birds shot in season. Some say it's all right to have feathers but not to sell them, others say possession of feathers is completely illegal. "As it stands now, if a pheasant flies into a plate glass window and dies in your living room, you can't give the carcass to the museum or you'll be trafficking in birds," Wright says.

(Thanks to Maggie Wilson of the Arizona Republic, to Douglas Martin of the Wall Street Journal, to Steve Nickerson of Race Relations Reporter, and to United Press International for this information.)

AUSTIN REALRIDER REAFFIRMED PRESIDENT OF PAWNEE TRIBAL COUNCIL

Tulsa, Oklahoma — Austin Realrider was upheld as the legal president of the Pawnee Indian Business Council by U.S. District Court Judge Fred Daughterty in a recent decision, deposing Thomas Chapman.

Two factions have been contending for power. Chapman had held office by virtue of a Pawnee County court action, but Judge Daughterty said that the local court lacked jurisdiction over the case. The Realrider faction had been approved by the U.S. Interior Department.

INDIAN CIVIL RIGHTS REPORT CHARGES OKLAHOMA FAILS IN INDIAN EDUCATION

Tulsa, Oklahoma — A report, "Indian Civil Rights Issues in Oklahoma," was recently given to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights by its Oklahoma advisory committee.

The 138-page document said that the state's public schools were "failing in their responsibility to educate [the American Indians]." The report was from an open hearing on Indian questions in Tulsa and Oklahoma City in January, 1972.

It reveals that the dropout rate for Indian students in public schools is from 10 to 15 percent higher than for

white children, and for certain national groups, it is even higher: Kiowas have a 46% higher dropout rate, Cherokees 45%, Choctaw 40%. Those who remain in school are discriminated against in terms of curriculum, treatment by school officials, and in the exercise of their cultural values.

The advisory committee made 17 recommendations, including the development of a more sensitive curriculum, placing greater administrative controls on the use of Johnson-O'Malley funds, and establishing a special board of inquiry by the governor to evaluate the administration of justice to native people.

(Thanks to the Tulsa Daily World for its May 23 article.)



....We were happy when he first came. We first thought he came from the light; but he comes like the dusk of evening now, not like the dawn of morning. He comes like a day that has passed, and night enters our future with him.

His laws never gave us a blade, nor a tree, nor a duck, nor a grouse, nor a trout....How often does he come? You know he comes as long as he lives, and takes more and more, and dirties what he leaves."

Charlot — Flathead Chief

Ecocide In The American Global Frontiers

Tribal Armies and Herbicides

(This article is by Ben Muneta, to whom we are grateful. He writes that as he first sought to research the use of Agent Orange, a military herbicide so lethal it was banned from Vietnam, he found that the U.S. Air Force was trying to sell it to Brazil, for use which would further devastate the Amazon Indians. "As one strand of the story was unravelled," Muneta writes, "more inter-connecting links, forming a broader outline, kept coming into focus, some meaning nothing, others to complex to analyze, or too frightening to even think about.")

(The author is Navajo, and while the scene shifts from Vietnam to Africa, from the U.S. to Brazil, he draws upon the memories of his own people to show that the experience shared in different ways by native Americans and Third World nations merits more than passing thought.)

The use of herbicides — chemicals which kill plants — is part of the broader outline of ecocide, the killing of our plant and animal relatives and supporters. This sheer physical destruction of the earth is done by the United States to force an enemy's surrender. It evolved from the U.S./Indian wars, and was perfected in Vietnam. Its most striking result is the mass relocation of civilian populations from lands they are religiously tied to, into camps to force assimilation or, at worst, genocide.

Agent Orange is the most widely-used herbicide of all in Vietnam. It is heavily contaminated with dioxin, called the world's deadliest poison for its fetus deforming power even when diluted a trillion times. Agent Orange has been accused of causing a sharp rise in human birth defects in areas of usage.

This, with Agent Blue [cacodylic acid which contains arsenic] has been used in the U.S. Food Denial Program where it has been sprayed on food crops to starve and terrorize civilian populations and to induce famine as a mode of warfare. [Remember how the buffalo were slaughtered to force American natives to submission?] These new chemicals are cheaper than

bombs or any U.S. device used in the Vietnam experiment.

Now the U.S. Air Force "swords into plowshares" program is considering exporting these chemicals to such countries as South Africa and Brazil.

Agent Orange is an equal mixture of plant hormones 2-4-5-T and 2-4-D. The Federal Drug Administration [FDA] has removed 2-4-5-T from domestic U.S. rangelands where it was used in beef production. Further studies into birth defects caused by 2-4-D have been inconclusive. However, both hormones are changed by combustion — such as a forest fire — into several dioxin compounds in large amounts. Some are deadly, some are safe.

For example, according to consumer protection watchdog Ida Honoriff of Los Angeles, the U.S. Forest Service, sprayed the Tonto National Forest in Arizona in the 1950s with 2-4-5-T. The effect was not of immediate catastrophe, but rather a slow poison. The sprayed areas were deforested for years. As the soil was stripped of its protective cover, it turned to stone under the hot desert sun. Sheep grazing in the area died. A rise in human birth defects was noted in local hospitals nearby, Honoriff said.

Several Indian reservations are in the area where the spray was used. The herbicide is absorbed through eating food which has come from the sprayed area, by skin absorption, and by drinking water. Though it became known then that the herbicides could cause damage, no one made the connection to wartime use until Vietnam came along.

In the 1960s, the case of the Skull Valley incident occurred. Near the Indian reservation there, an Air Force plane jettisoned its cargo of military herbicides, presumably causing the infamous sheep kill near the Dugway Proving Grounds.

And Back to Kit Carson, Agent Orange

It is important to see herbicide/genocide through the history of North American native people. When the expanding U.S. frontier met, for example, Navajo lands, a war began. In a plan to starve the Navaho peoples onto a 40-square-mile concentration camp, Bosque Redondo, was created. It was planned to be a main collection center for integrating and assimilating all Apache and Navaho peoples.

With the U.S. Cavalrymen outnumbering Dine warriors two to one, in a final four-year winter campaign and wholesale devastation of the countryside, half or more of the Navaho finally surrendered. Up to 2,000 would die of starvation in the camp, 900 would escape, and the war would cost one million dollars in 1868 currency for each Navaho warrior killed. But the U.S. could afford the price.

Indeed, in Navajo lands, Kit Carson with his Long Knives, scouts, and slave raiders, marauding the land with open season on Indians, devastated the land, burning homes, farms, orchards, livestock, food stores.

Today, Navaho land is largely desert. Water has been diverted to growing cities. The fragile ecosystem, with plentiful surface water, a surprising abundance of bird and animal life, was destroyed. The birds and animals

are all but extinct. Waterfalls and streams which once were sacred shrines are gone, the land turned to stone under the desert sun.

The seed still lives on, though, and the Navaho await the flourishing of their own lands.

It is an interesting comparison that even without herbicides, the U.S. corporate development of U.S. Indian reservations, the strip mining of western reservations and the loss of water diverted to industry or large cities is "laterizing" these reservations also. As whole areas of land once farmed by Indians now turns to stone, there are accusations that the Indians "over-grazing" is causing the problem — perhaps a coverup for what is really going on.

Act III: Native People of Vietnam

In Vietnam, the Montagnard tribes have been the hardest hit by defoliation and relocation.

Bombs, herbicides, weather control devices to cause massive floods, the Food Denial Program to starve the peasantry, even experiments to burn the oxygen out of jungles by massive forest fires in 1965 and 1966, plus setting aside as free-fire zones for indiscriminate raids to kill anything in sight, have forced half the Vietnamese people into relocation camps.



When the U.S. first moved into Vietnam, it took advantage of the hostility between lowland Vietnamese and the mountain tribespeople. In 1957, the South Vietnamese had begun establishing colonies in the central highlands, home of a million "Montagnards," as the French colonists called them. The colonies were to "absorb refugees and open up new land." About 210,000 people were collected in 147 settlements by the 1960s, when an ethnic minority service for the Montagnards was created. It was widely regarded by the Montagnards as an agent of cultural genocide, and the Montagnard people who took jobs as officials of the new service were viewed as lackeys of the Vietnamese.

Meanwhile, the U.S. Special Forces moved in, initially under control of the Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]. They began forming all-Montagnard units in battalion strength. By 1962, they numbered 36 — the Mike Forces. In 1963, the Special Forces took over

The Village Visitations Of The Green Berets



The use of military "pacification teams" is a part of American history. In addition to use of Special Forces teams in Vietnam, there are now Green Berets performing their good deeds in the Philippines. There the work is the same as in Indochina ten years ago — training and organizing local government forces.

London Times correspondent Robert Whyman, reporting from Manila, says that the teams are working in operations known as "civic action programs" and "professional development programs". On the single island of Mindanao alone, there have been 25 such teams since 1970. That island is the scene of the heaviest Moslem resistance to the Marcos regime.

Critics of the Marcos regime point out that the new U.S. Ambassador to the Philippines is none other than William Sullivan — who was ambassador to Laos ten years ago when the Green Berets were used to organize combat units among Meo tribesmen.

A U.S. military official has acknowledged that the Green Berets are, in fact, in the Philippines. He insisted, however, that they're busy digging wells for the people, pulling teeth, and — in his words — "to do good."

The U.S. has heavy corporate interests in the Philippines, estimated at over \$3-billion.

Even the National Guard gets into the act sometime. In 1973, in Washington State, a training mock battle was staged, pretending that conditions similar to the Wounded Knee occupation were faced by the trainees. A helicopter overhead guiding the operations spewed out anti-Indian slurs. The maneuvers were on the Fort Lewis military installation opposite the Frank's Landing reservation, the scene of heavy opposition to intrusion upon native fishing rights.

Green Berets also were at the Penobscot reservation in Maine, conducting "medical surveys." Such surveys go door to door, making lists of names and ages of all residents, discussing health problems, and obtaining information on factions, community problems, loyalties.

The special team of U.S. Marshals who were employed in putting down the occupation of Wounded Knee, and who were active against the black residents of the Virgin Islands recently have a high number of ex-Green Beret men in its ranks.

Before the occupation of Wounded Knee, U.S. Armed Forces involvement in native communities was on the increase. Special Forces seemed to be zeroing in on native groups, particularly in New Mexico. In the winter of 1972-73, two officers from the Fort Bragg Special Forces Center approached several Indian organizations in that state about the possibilities of "working with them to develop their communities."

A first lieutenant and captain came to a meeting of the Federation of American Indians, an Albuquerque native group concerned with civil rights, health, and education, and said they were from the John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center in North Carolina. They said they had been in New Mexico for three weeks surveying Indian communities, getting lists of community projects, and generally finding ways Green Berets men could relate to the Indians. The

pair said they could offer pueblos military road equipment, educational and medical resources, as well as direct funding.

At that time, Richard L. Young, a lawyer working with the Native American Legal Defense and Education Fund (NALDEF) wrote Senator Ted Kennedy to find out what the Green Berets really wanted.

— Seer's Catalogue



"Isn't the whole concept of introducing military Civil Action personnel into local communities essentially the same as the 'village pacification' activities which our military has been conducting in Vietnam for the past decade?" Young asked, wondering too if Congress was aware of the program. "Aren't such military incursions into domestic civilian life contrary to historic Congressional policy which has always been careful to keep the military out of civilian affairs?"

Mike Forces. In 1963, the Special Forces took over some CIA-financed CIDG (Civilian Irregular Defense Groups) having some similar units. The Truong Son cadre program, to secure and foster development projects in Montagnard villages, was created under the ethnic minorities service and financed by the CIA. By 1967, the CIA Provincial Reconnaissance Units (PRUs) 55-men Montagnard teams under command of American or white mercenaries were created to eliminate NLF shadow-government members.

By then, however, the South Vietnamese had noted how the Montagnard units could revolt and ordered all units integrated into the army. In reply, the Montagnards deserted en masse, killing their new officers.

Sixty Vietnamese officers were killed in 1964 in Ban Me Thuot, and the Montagnards proclaimed the town independent under the flag of Fulro, the Montagnard independence movement. Montagnard tribesmen have rebelled ever since. In 1965, Iba Ham, a Fulro leader, fled to Cambodia, creating an underground independence movement demanding control of their own regiments and control of the "ethnic minority service". It was refused.

Thus, as one U.S. advisor wrote: "The American aim in arming tribes is to enlist their ancient hatreds in the battle against communism... Many Americans work with hill tribes for years, joining their battle for cultural survival, only to realize in the end they have prevented any peaceful compromise between the hill and valley peoples of Indochina. Perhaps a short definition of a modern American is a lonely warrior in search of his tribe."

The Montagnard fate has been similar to the Meos of Laos. The Meos (or Hmongs, as they call themselves, meaning the "free people") constitute one of the few truly nomadic peoples of Indochina. Organized into fierce clans, they make their own muskets and are masters of small-unit warfare. In 1960, 400,000 Meos lived in Laos and 45,000 in Thailand.

Then a retired Indiana farmer, Edgar "Pop" Buell, organized a Meo army in 1961 supplied by the CIA, AID, and Air America. Subsisting upon airdrops, this clandestine army waged war against communist forces. But by 1968, the roof fell in when a Meo radar station used to guide bombing raids into North Vietnam was overrun.

The scene of refugees and dependents moving back and forth in the fierce cycle of fighting, subsisting upon American aid, began in earnest. By 1970, almost half of the male Meos and a quarter of the women and children were dead. "Pop" Buell noted of the survivors: "It's all been running and dying, running and dying."

Some fled to Thailand, but there the U.S. had sided with the Thai Government to crush the Meos and to colonize their highlands. Meanwhile, Thai mercenaries were used to fight alongside the depleted Meos in Laos.

[It was just on March 25, 1974, that the Green Berets announced they were moving out of their base at Lopburi, Thailand, where they had been training Thai native soldiers "in special warfare techniques" for the last 14 years.]

The building of roads and trails is not as innocent an activity as it sounds. As Michael Klare points out in his book, *War Without End: American Planning for the Next Vietnam* road construction "is one of the most common forms of civic action activity. Ostensibly, such work is designed to improve integration of the countryside with the cities by extending government services to remote villages while allowing peasants to sell their products to a wider market. In reality, many road-building projects are intended to expedite government surveillance of potentially rebellious areas, and to enhance the mobility of military and paramilitary forces during actual outbreaks of guerrilla warfare."

In 1972, the Green Berets made an attempt to use New Mexico as a training ground for its counter-insurgency activities, but had to withdraw when opposition was raised by *El Grito del Norte*, a Chicano newspaper.



The official line was that the Green Berets would parachute into New Mexico communities, and would practice their medical training on poor Chicano and Indian families. "If someone cuts himself real bad, why they can patch him up," explained Sgt. John P. Pardieu, a U.S. Army recruiting officer in New Mexico who had the job of advance man for the scheme. "And the community can see the people who are protecting them, these Special Forces. You can sleep better at night, as the saying goes."

Women shouldn't be afraid to go to Green Berets for help delivering their babies, said Pardieu, because "they do it in Vietnam, all over the world."

There, Meo lands in Laos were being bombed in huge swaths. Fred Branfman, an observer, said "everything was fired on — buffaloes, cows, ricefields, schools, temples... in addition to, of course, people."

Meanwhile, Montagnards began to be collected in the lowlands into refugee camps while their homes and farms were bombed to flush out the guerillas — but many stayed behind and were killed by the U.S. In the camps, malnutrition, hostile Vietnamese, and suicides predominated. Many tribes, wishing to face death in their own homelands, deserted the camps to escape to the hills.

Such is the devastation in Vietnam, and a portent of a new drama to unfold in South America.

Act IV: Indians in the Amazon

In the Amazon today, Indians are undergoing physical genocide as Brazil tries to "develop" the area, often for American corporate interests. The U.S. Department of Defense, studying defoliation there for application in Vietnam, has noted that clearing away the trees has caused permanent soil damage:

At Iata in the Amazon Basin, the land was deforested and bulldozed for an agricultural colony. What appeared to be a rich soil, with a promising cover of humus, disintegrated after the second planting. Under the equatorial sun, the iron-rich soil began to bake into brick. In less than five years, the cleared fields became virtually pavements of rocks."

Some experts predict that in half-a-century, the Amazon will be transformed into a desert. Vietnam, with 30% of its soil potentially laterizable [able to be turned into rock] is also becoming savannah lands or even desert.

Brazil, as *Science Magazine* (April 6, 1973) noted, is not only defoliating the Amazon jungle, for "development", but is using herbicides to conduct "one of the largest paramilitary campaigns against an indigenous people anywhere in the world."

Some ecological experts predict that in half a century, the Amazon will become a moonscape. Once cleared, tropical soils are among the most sterile that exist on the earth's crust. The Amazon comprises 3/5 of Brazil, and was once ocean floor. Thus it is low in nutrients, is sandy, porous, and acidic.

But some 30-million poor farmers are planned to be sent to the Amazon this century to farm the soil and raise beef (some dioxin-contaminated beef, anyone?). In the past ten years, it is estimated that 150,000 Indians have died in this mad venture.

Without the jungle shade, the red earth is easily laterized under the sun and erosion. The silt produced in deforested Minas Gerais and Bahia, where the flow of the once mighty Sao Francisco River flowed at 2800 cubic meters, has slowed the river to 200 cubic meters a second at present.

Even in terms of profit, one official Brazilian governmental study noted that the forest products of rubber, timber, nuts, would yield twice as much profit if the forests were left as they are, rather than convert to farming or beef production. But then, there are the Indians. . .

The Special Forces have been active in Micronesia, too, creating the psychological and physical infrastructure for any future military operation there. They build small airports, roads, and utility systems, and, of course, classrooms and athletic facilities which are for use by the people. That creates an acceptance of a military presence in these islands, where there is opposition to takeover of needed farmlands for military bases.

Civic action teams have been at work in Micronesia since 1969.

Native people themselves are welcome Green Beret recruits. But not all of them can take their assignments. Last year, David Begay, a 24-year-old Navajo, defected and admitted participating in 20 secret military missions in Laos and Cambodia, as well as Jordan in the Middle East.

Begay, who lost a leg in the service, was part of a Green Beret team of "dark-complexioned" soldiers, mostly Indian or Spanish-speaking, that was sent to the Middle East to kill three leaders of Al Fatah, an organization of Palestinian resistance fighters. The whole operation took 14 days. "We went in and blew them away," Begay told UPI reporter John Leahigh. According to Begay, the mission was coordinated by the CIA and was meant to create trouble between the Arabs and Israelis.

Michael Klare points out in his book, *War Without End*, "since 1962, Green Berets have worked with troops of every Latin American nation except Mexico, Cuba, and Haiti... Special Forces activity always peaks when a country is threatened by an insurgent movement." It was Special Forces, for instance, who helped hunt down Che Guevara among the native people of the Bolivian mountains in 1967, for instance.

Green Berets also used the Northern Cheyennes for "training" — perhaps a highly strategic choice now that major corporations want to strip mine there. That was in 1972. Opposition was raised then when

But the U.S. Air Force is stuck with 2.3-million surplus gallons of Agent Orange. After it was banned in Vietnam, they tried to sell it in Utah until there was a public outcry. Now they want to sell it to South American countries, especially Brazil, for use in the Amazon. The Environmental Protection Agency had stepped in to prevent the sale, but with the "energy crisis" stripping the EPA of its powers, the Air Force is expected to try again.

The U.S. Forest Service also plans to use some of the herbicides in U.S. National Forests. Their experts say the use will ensure a good "crop" of the more valuable hardwoods and pines by killing off underbrush. They admit the use of Agent Orange is dangerous, but claim that the chemicals will only be used in areas where there is no risk to the public — which doesn't speak about possible harm to native people whose reservations often are adjacent to national forest areas.

And Now, Back to History

Historically, the evidence of genocide in North America is inescapable. Then, as the U.S. expanded, it toppled the native social structure of Hawaii, annexed Samoa and the Philippines, had U.S. Marine aviators massacre 300 people in El Ocotal, Nicaragua in the 1930s, and generally terrorized the rest of Latin America.

Always in the nations encountered by the Americans were tribal peoples. Thus the usage by the United States of tribal armies is widespread. That experience ranges from the U.S. Indian Wars to when the U.S. went out and armed Siberian Inuit to fight the Russians a hundred years ago — or the arming of Siberian tribes during the 1920s. Today, the CIA has been aiding Shan tribesmen in Burma's mountains in their rebellion, while at the same time, the Burmese government has been given \$85-million in U.S. aid to build up its army to put down the Shan tribal uprisings, as well as uprisings of the Mon and Karen peoples. Even in far-off Tibet, CIA armies have appeared.

In Indochina, two factors of pacification and devastation were used. The first, was the use of tribal armies by U.S. agents (Special Forces, CIA, or US-AID) in manipulating ancient tribal disputes, arming them, and backing them by a professional U.S. mercenary force and modern technology.

To understand this Dr. Jekyll/Mr. Hyde role the U.S. plays in giving the "good life" to certain of its citizens while exploiting abroad, one must consider the concept of "progress" and the high mass consumption oriented society which produces ecocide in the wars it wages and the peace it keeps.

As R.J. Barnet of the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington put it into overall context: "On an average of once every eighteen months, the U.S. has sent its military or para-military forces into other countries either to crush a local revolution or to arrange a coup against a government which failed to acquire the State Department seal of approval."

the Cheyennes found out that the soldiers had compiled intelligence reports on the tribal government, dissidents in the community, cultural strengths and weaknesses and other information which not only provided them with training for use against other native peoples in the world, but which could eventually be used against the Northern Cheyenne themselves in event of an uprising.

Major General Henry E. Emerson, commander of the JFK Center for Military Assistance where all Green Berets are trained, said that such activity "allows us to practice organizing support among indigenous people, which is something we had to do in Vietnam and is needed in almost every way."

As the Green Berets see it, their history goes back to fighting Indians anyhow.

"The story of the United States Special Forces dates back at least to the French and Indian Wars, when Major Robert Rogers formed his 'Rangers' from the New Hampshire state militia to conduct 'unconventional warfare' against the Indians," explains 'A History of the Special Forces' in *Veritas*, the Green Beret official magazine.



The historical account never explains what "unconventional warfare" against the Indians actually meant. But by the time of the Vietnam war, it had come to mean everything from recruiting tribal peoples as informers, training them in counter-insurgency, having them conduct search and destroy missions, or conducting "pacification" programs designed to "win the hearts and minds" of the people.

Or — as a popular Marine saying goes, "Get the people by the balls and their hearts and minds will follow."

THE PACIFIC



THE MILITARIZATION OF MICRONESIA: ANOTHER NATIVE PEOPLE STRUGGLE TO WIN INDEPENDENCE FROM AMERICAN COLONIZERS DANGLING CARROTS

Tinian, Micronesia

The Marianas, the Carolines, the Marshalls and other islands in the South Pacific, known collectively as Micronesia, constitute the last trust territory remaining under United Nations auspices. Scattered over an expanse of ocean as large as the continental U.S., the 114,000 inhabitants of these romantically-beautiful islands speak nine major languages. They have endured colonization by Germany, then were entrusted to Japan after World War I, and passed into United States trusteeship following World War II with the understanding that they would be helped "toward independence and self-government."

Twenty years passed before discussions about their future political status were begun in 1967. In August, 1969, the Congress of Micronesia established a ten-member Political Status Commission to negotiate with representatives of the U.S. Government. Six separate sessions were held. The last, in October, 1972, broke off when the Micronesians brought up the question of independence.

From the very beginning, the U.S. had insisted that the United Nations designate Micronesia as a *Strategic Trust Territory*, the first and only one of its kind. To the U.S., the word "strategic" means a military base — and unfortunately, the Trusteeship Council has not seriously contested this interpretation. Hence the 1948 exile of the people of Eniwetok; hence the 1954 Bikini blasts which are still producing radiation leukemia and thyroid lesions; hence the clearing of residents from Kwajalein to establish a secret missile testing base for Americans only; hence the PACE "cratering experiments" — tremendous non-nuclear explosions — that were halted at the very last moment in June, 1973, by a court decision.

The parallels Micronesia's native people have with North America's native people is clear. Even the colonial power is the same: the Department of Interior.

All the damage mentioned was done in the Marshalls, the western island group. The Pentagon's new interest is in the islands closest to Asia — the Marianas and the Carolines. Up to this point, it has been satisfied with Guam, which a visiting U.S. Congressman recently described as "the strongest fortress in the world." Guam is really one of the Marianas, but it is not a part of the Trust Territory, having been a U.S. possession since the Spanish-American War. But now that the military is losing Okinawa and feeling less welcome in Thailand, it desperately wants a chain of military bases to call its own.

After Political Status discussions broke off in anger, the Legislature of the Marianas formed its own Political Status Commission to negotiate a separation from the rest of the Trust Territory and a special relationship with the U.S. Though this proposal has been most actively pushed by persons who expect to benefit personally and through its "divide and conquer" strategy obviously favors U.S. plans, it is widely supported by the people of Saipan. Most of them are Chomorros, like the people of Guam, who hope to do as the Guamanians do.

In Guam, the whole population has been elevated into a kind of Middle Class by feeding on the rich crumbs that fall from the wasteful military table. Agriculture has been virtually abandoned, while manual labor is performed by work crews brought in from the Philippines and South Korea. By constantly biting the hand that feeds them, the Guamanians have obtained attractive new schools and other amenities. As American citizens, they have the valuable privilege of leaving Guam, so that many Guamanians now live in California and many commute back and forth. Until the recent tourist boom, all these good things came from the Navy and Air Force. Most Saipanese are willing to come to terms with the U.S. military to have some of them.

There is one difficulty. The Pentagon wants Tinian, the island to the north of Saipan, from which Hiroshima and Nagasaki were bombed in 1945. (The old runways are still there, cruelly visible from the air.) Most of Tinian is flat, suitable for being covered with concrete.

It is separated from Saipan by about three miles of water, which offers easy security. And the land is not tied up in a complicated maze of clan holdings, like most of Micronesia. After the war, it was uninhabited. The U.S. Navy, in the process of resettling people, persuaded some Chomorros who had been transferred to Yap by the Japanese to undertake the repopulation of Tinian. Later, in an effort to encourage agriculture, homesteading privileges were offered. In contrast to most of Micronesia, where even subsistence agriculture is declining fast, the new farmers on Tinian found fertile soil and were able to produce quantities of pork and vegetables for sale in Guam and Saipan.



U.S. Planes over Tinian in World War II

The Armed Forces would like to have the whole island, but they are willing to allow the present residents to locate in the Marpo Valley, a mountainous part of the island indignantly described by Tinian students at the University of Guam as "good for goats and coconut crabs." An extensive public relations campaign has been aimed at Tinian. Civic Action Teams have been doing favors for the residents. Each week a military plane comes from Guam to buy fresh produce. A series of civilian and military teams have come in from Washington to do "pre-surveys" and assure the people that a better life is in their future. One team gave a slide show which included a picture of a spacious California-style house. Such a house would cost twice as much to build in Micronesia as in California, but it left a vivid impression on people who live mostly in handmade dwellings of thatch and rusty corrugated iron. In spite of all these efforts, there was tremendous surprise and indignation when the demand for all of Tinian except the Marpo Valley was finally made. The outcry has retarded an immediate agreement on separation of the Marianas from the rest of the Trust Territory.

Even the more moderate Tinian residents are upset with the military. They oppose relocation and the underhanded tactics of the U.S. to sway public opinion, but say that if the U.S. wants to lease the northern third of the island, they could pay an annual rental.

"These spokesmen assert that the Island of Tinian belongs to them, and not to any conqueror. They were very unwilling participants of both World Wars, and they feel they have been puppets of various nations for too long. They assert that no nation, no matter how strong, has the right to take over any island or part thereof," the *Marianas Variety News and Views* reported recently.

In the United States, Friends of Micronesia has been working with California's Senator Alan Cranston and Berkeley Congressman Ron Dellums, who have both begun investigations. Other members of Congress are ringing up the Pentagon so frequently that the military's Office of Legislative Liaison has prepared a form letter to send out to initial inquiries. Until recently, the Pentagon has tried to keep a lid on its plans, but now it has been forced to make statements to the press about the importance of Tinian in future military planning.

Opposition of residents of this tiny island in the South Pacific has caused the United States military to back off in its plans to force the people of Tinian out of their homes. The movement centered around Felipe Mendiola, a long-time opponent of American rule, who has just been elected the island's new mayor.

During an afternoon-long visit to Tinian on May 22, U.S. negotiator Haydn Williams and his 8 aides were confronted by hostile crowds carrying signs saying, "Farms Never Explode — Bombs Do," "Watermelons,

Not Bombs," and "Don't Be Greedy." A symbolic barricade was built across Tinian's main thoroughfare, appropriately named "Broadway."

A petition opposing military plans and calling for an end to all negotiations until the U.S. makes full disclosure of its military plans, and until a referendum on the matter was held, was refused by Williams. The U.S. Administration vetoes a referendum that was to have been held April 7.

Williams' most startling announcement was that up to 7,000 troops would take part at one time in "war games" including naval and aerial bombardment. Despite the noise and smoke and pollution that would be caused by such large-scale operations, Williams said the "military operations will not disturb the residents." He dangled the promise that 700 jobs "could be available" to Tinian residents.

On June 7, after the U.S. negotiators had left Micronesia, it was revealed that another survey team would be visiting Tinian from the University of Hawaii to prepare "an extended socio-economic report emphasizing the expansion and resultant development of Tinian's anticipated economic and population growth that will result from the base."

Former residents of Bikini, numbering 360, were forcibly removed from their homes when the U.S. decided to use the island to test atomic weapons. Just last year, American officials announced that the islanders could return — with free transportation, even. However, the islanders have stayed away, saying they won't return until the U.S. comes up with \$3-million in reparations for the damage done to the island and the disruption in their lives.

It was like a homecoming and nobody came. The U.S. had planned the return as a triumphant media playact. Congressman Ataji Balos and the traditional leaders of Bikini just travelled to Washington one more time to demand some payment — they know that as soon as they are safely back home, they lose their bargaining power and will never again manage to get anyone to pay attention to the wrongdoing they have suffered in a series of unbelievably tragic acts since their exile 28 years ago.

Micronesians, like North American native people, have a strong attachment to their land, and a tremendous unwillingness to part with it. While none of the island cultures have private ownership as do the cult of Western peoples, there is a possessive feeling for every inch of soil, whether or not it is "being used". About 60% of all land had been grabbed by the Japanese. When the American administration took over, these Japanese holdings were regarded as "public lands", but the Micronesian people never assented to this concept. They know which lands belong to which clan and family, and wish to see a just settlement. In 25 years, the situation has become more and more complicated. Some of these lands have been used for schools, public buildings, playing fields, or government housing. But Micronesians are convinced that they can make the necessary adjustments themselves. There is stubborn resistance to new demands for more land when the old claims have not been met by the U.S.



There is a wide range of opinion among Micronesian leaders about the future of the islands. Independence is a great word, and few are prepared to speak against it. There are several Micronesian leaders who would opt for complete independence with full knowledge of the material sacrifices it would require. At the other end of the scale are those who would like to follow the Saipanese in withdrawing from the Congress of Micronesia and negotiating a special relationship with the United States.

Getting in on the Gravy Train

Above all, there is the silent pressure of the economy. The islands once exported fair quantities of copra and trochus shell. But the price of copra has been falling year after year, and the demand for trochus, now that

shirt buttons are made of plastic, is very small. Exports are now under \$3-million a year and dropping, whereas imports are over \$26-million and rising. The startling difference is made possible by money from the U.S. The Trust Territory now gets a basic appropriation of \$60-million per year — not much, considering it must maintain air and sea transport over an area as big as the U.S. and provide schools, water, roads, medical services, electricity, and administration. Salaries of American employees take a considerable part of this small sum, though Micronesians are now holding many jobs formerly assigned to Americans. Other funds come through OEO for vocational education and other services. Enormous sums are filtered through the private corporations in charge of Kwajalein, and some of the money ends as salaries paid to Micronesians.

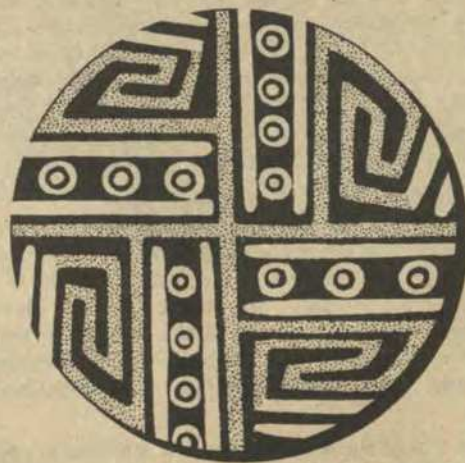
Needless to say, the U.S. money is not spread evenly through the population. Most Micronesians are still living essentially in the Old Way, on the produce of their gardens and the sea. But enough money is around, mostly in the form of government salaries, to enable a great many Micronesians to enter the money economy and to acquire a taste for cars, canned food, alcohol and cigarettes. Ten years ago, scooters and motorcycles were the thing, but now cars are regarded as a necessity, especially in Saipan. The cars are mostly Japanese, beat-up by American standards, hard to maintain in the salt-laden atmosphere, and lavishly abandoned by the roadside.

The military does bring money. The islanders can see this very plainly by looking in one direction at Guam, or in the other direction at Kwaj, where the working conditions are humiliating and the housing is deplorable but the pay is good. Micronesian leaders have a realistic view of the end product of militarization, but they are in essentially the same position as American officials who claim that their communities cannot exist without an airfield, munitions plant, or army base.

In addition to the emissaries of the Pentagon who are constantly in evidence, the islands are being reconnoitered by sharp-eyed businessmen. The ocean floor is full of light metals, apparently free to the first corporation that gets there with the right equipment. There is deep-sea fishing, becoming more profitable each day as the world's supply of protein dwindles. If new international ocean agreements include the archipelago concept (which the U.S. vigorously opposes) the islanders could insist on a share of the profits. Then there is the glittering bubble of tourism, which is already being blown up by covert Japanese funding.

An international conference, inspired by Friends of Micronesia and hosted by members of the Palau Legislature, met to discuss these urgent problems in a non-official atmosphere in late August, 1973. Friends of Micronesia was founded in 1970 by ex-Peace Corps volunteers. It owes a great deal to the efforts, talents, and stubbornness of Roger Gale, who taught political science at the University of Guam from 1968 to 1970. A number of his former students are now in leadership positions.

At the Conference, there were 5 Americans from "outside" and about 15 who live and work in Guam or the Trust Territory, all highly sympathetic except for one U.S. State Department employee who kept writing everything down. The Japan Congress Against A&H Bombs sent a delegation of 12, including a member of the Japanese Diet and a resident of Okinawa, whose experience was of particular interest to the Micronesians. Australia was represented by one peace activist. Though travel is costly and inconvenient, there were representatives from all the Micronesian districts except the Marshalls, and there were probably fifty Palauans who took an active part, including half a dozen women.



The chairman of the Japanese delegation made an emotional speech apologizing for the injuries inflicted on the Micronesians by the Japanese before and during World War II and promising to support claims for adequate compensation. (Several bills have been introduced in the Diet, the Japanese legislative body.) The two opening Micronesian speakers reminded the foreigners present that problems must be solved by the

people concerned, not by theoretical advice from the outside, however benevolent. The chairman of the conference, Senator Roman Tmetuchl from Babelthap, brought up the basic but touchy point that Micronesia is a concept of geographers, anthropologists, and administrators which has only recently been used by the people themselves, something like the concept, "American Indians."

"If we are to learn anything from the tragic history of our brothers in the Third World," Senator Tmetuchl said, "Micronesia must take a different course and not accept at face value what we have been told about being a single nation."

For the Micronesians, the political problem was uppermost. Senator Ichei said that the Congress of Micronesia wants the people of Micronesia to have at least two choices for their future status: free association, or independence. He feels that the Congress of Micronesia would now agree to a trial five-year period of free association, if the option were open to it.

So far as the Pentagon is concerned, the option is not open and never will be. Haydn Williams, President Richard Nixon's "personal ambassador" to the Political Status talks, "would in any way threaten the stability of the area (or) in the opinion of the United States endanger international peace and security."

And that is that.

The Americans at the Palau conference had very little to say on the question of political status, but their presence demonstrated that there is an element in "the opinion of the United States" which is not committed to militarism and colonialism.

On June 3, the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations held a week-long hearing and debate on the U.S. administration of the islands. Whether the U.S. can maintain its hold as "trustee" in the light of the Eyes of the World is yet to be seen.

(Thanks to Bertha Faust, a writer and teacher recently returned from her second extended visit to Micronesia, for most of the information here. Her own article was initially published in Fellowship, a publication of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 271, Nyack, New York 10960.)

(Further information on the situation in Micronesia, including ways to support the struggles there, is available from:

Friends of Micronesia
2325 McKinley Ave.
Berkeley, California 94703
(415) 849-1715)

AMERICAN COLONIAL GOVERNOR (1974) PERPETUATES OLD TRADITIONS

Washington, D.C. — The distant thunder of more trouble in Pago Pago echoed through a congressional hearing room in April, in notes of angry confrontation between a Samoan chieftain, a beleaguered American governor, and a House subcommittee.

The chieftain, American Samoa's delegate-at-large to Washington, Asuemu U. Fuimaono, declared that the governor, John Haydon Jr., of Seattle, has in the course of his five-year reign "betrayed the trust of the people of American Samoa."

Chief Fuimaono recited a long list of grievances, including a letter from the governor to an Interior Department superior saying, "By and large, this is completely an amoral society. [It] does not approach large sums of money with the same seriousness that you and I do..."

For some two years, the graying and taciturn American official, who earns \$36,000 a year plus 25% overseas differential and lives in an official gubernatorial residence, has been an object of controversy. The governorship is conferred by White House appointment.

Last year, the Civil Service Commission sought to prosecute Haydon for allegedly violating the Hatch Act by interfering with a referendum on whether the governor should be elected locally, the first step toward the American plan for giving "independence" for the tiny U.S. territory in the South Pacific.

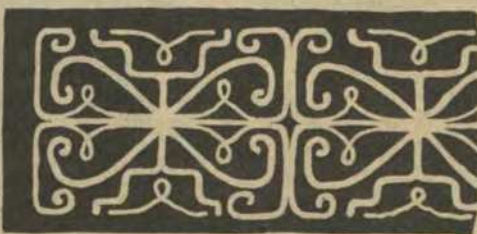
The administrative judge held that the election was not covered by the law which prohibits public servants from taking a partisan position in elections, but he reproached Haydon for "unwarranted intrusion into the electoral process" of Samoa.

Haydon has also been accused of trying to deport a newspaper editor who criticized his strong-handed style of governance and also of transferring a judge and de-

moting American subordinates for acting contrary to his own views.

Haydon came under withering criticism from the House subcommittee's Democratic majority. "This gentleman on the witness stand," complained Rep. Lloyd Meeds from Haydon's home state of Washington, "simply does not tolerate any views which run contrary to his own, and acts swiftly to punish anyone with contrary views."

Alluding to Haydon's observation about Samoan "amorality," subcommittee chairman Phillip Burton of California cited complaints by natives during a subcommittee visit last January of the scanty, hula-type costumes worn by young female servants in the governor's residence.



"The attire of these 15-year-old girls in the governor's mansion is considered by American Samoans as very offensive to their morals," said Burton. He said that Haydon must feel "you've got a pretty good job and the longer an election bill can be delayed, you keep your job."

The outcome of the subcommittee's deliberations could be to propose legislation to give American Samoa the right to elect its own governor. But first, Burton says, there will have to be a referendum among the 28,000 native islanders.



"We read everyday of how 'civilized' man is poisoning himself in his smog-filled cities, of his polluted rivers and lakes, of urban blight, slums and ghettos, racism, violence, war and robbery. These are the warnings we should be heeding, for there are now businessmen, investors and developers looking aidly to our islands, ... so that we also will be able to join in the mad rush toward a materialistic society. This kind of development is not worth the price."

— Senator Roman Tmetuchl, Palau (1970)

WHAT IS THE LEGAL REMEDY FOR COLONIALISM? MICRONESIANS, LIKE INDIANS, SEARCH FOR THE ANSWERS

(This editorial appeared in the Friends of Micronesia Newsletter, 2335 McKinley Ave., Berkeley, California 94703.)

Micronesia's problems cannot be solved by increasing reliance on an American legal system. There is no legal remedy to colonialism and the persistent expansion of the American imperium.

Taking its cue from the Nixon Administration, the Trust Territory Administration has pacified many of its critics by appointing Micronesians to most major posts. At the same time, however, there is a new inner circle of white men who surround the High Commissioner, and who are immune from scrutiny,

since, like Nixon's boys, they are special consultants and advisors responsible only to the executive.

The U.S. Government is drawing up battle lines. The example of Wounded Knee should not be forgotten. In the year 1973, right inside the U.S. under the watchful eyes of the major tele-

vision networks, the U.S. assembled a whole military force against the Indians. Phantom jets flew overhead, armored personnel carriers were put into position and government forces were armed with M-16s and high-power rifles. There was shooting on both sides. The Indians in the local movies

people see every night in Micronesia still live. Micronesians are in the same position — they are "Indians" too.



genocide in new mexico

Farmington, New Mexico — Native peoples of this area have said that unless there are satisfactory changes in the issues and conflicts between Navajos and Anglos here, they will march on the state capitol in Santa Fe.

A Coalition for Navajo Liberation (CNL) delegation presented that ultimatum to a gathering of state and city officials. Navajo tribal officials had been invited to the meeting, but failed to attend. "Everything is involved," a CNL spokesperson said. "There's disrespect and exploitation of our culture and traditions, job discrimination, political, social, and economic oppression, and blatant and total abuse of our civil and human rights."

A preliminary hearing was held in Albuquerque on June 28 in connection with the June 8 protest in which 34 Navajo participants were arrested. Most were charged with misdemeanors, but Coalition members John RedHouse and Wilbur Tsosie were charged with inciting a riot and battery on a policeman, respectively. U.S. District Court Judge Wilbur Payne, who is hearing those cases, ordered Farmington to lift a restraining order against further Coalition marches.

The arrests occurred after a series of Saturday marches by Navajos protesting the brutal slayings of at least nine men was terminated by the city of Farmington so that the San Juan County Sheriff's Posse could hold its parade.

Farmington... a corner of the Land of Enchantment where it isn't safe to be Indian



In the march was a unit of U.S. Army cavalrymen from Fort Bliss, Texas, dressed in the 19th century uniforms of the infamous 7th Cavalry. The Navajos on the sidewalks watched the horsemen, symbolic of the painful Long March of 1868. Their anger boiled over, and spectators spilled into the street.

When those blocking the parade route failed to disperse, a policeman yelled "Charge!" and the cavalry unit rode toward the Navajos. A flag-bearer poked his standard at a Navajo, who grabbed it, and the battle was on.

Farmington police and sheriffs shot tear gas at the Indians and arrested 34 Navajos, charging most of them with disorderly conduct. One woman was charged with assaulting an officer when she accidentally hit a policeman while trying to drive away from the teargas. John RedHouse was charged with destruction of property after police broke a plate-glass window while chasing him.

According to Glenn Paquin, a UNM Kiva Club member, the arrested demonstrators were never read their rights, were not fed for 16 hours, and were handled roughly. John RedHouse said that one policeman told him, "We're going to kill all you goddam Indians if it takes the National Guard."

"That incident shows the total disregard and disrespect for our Navajo culture and heritage. The history of the Navajo has been made at U.S. military gunpoint," a CNL spokesperson said. "At gunpoint, we were forced to Fort Sumner and Bosque Redondo. There are people today who lived that walk and still remember. Our history is still very much a part of us today."

The Coalition for Navajo Liberation is made up of local and area organizations in the Farmington area, including the Farmington Inter-tribal Indian Organization, San Juan Human Rights Commission, the Farmington chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Shiprock chapter of the American Indian Movement (AIM), the University of New Mexico Kiva Club, and members of the Navajo tribe.

On June 9, the night of the arrests, the bodies of three more men, two of them Zuni and one Navajo, were found on the road just outside Gallup. Top-level police officials were on the scene almost instantly, and soon announced arrests of two native men who were charged with the killings.

They were identified as Andrew Acqui, 47; Arnold Cellicion 44; and Alfred Yazzie, 24, all of Zuni. The victims apparently were not robbed — all had money in their pockets.

New Mexico Governor Bruce King put the National Guard on standby alert near Farmington, and the state police sent in a riot-equipped contingent. The city closed down the Indian Center.

The Sociology of Murder in Navajoland

Nearly everyone in town has heard the stories about how the kids from Farmington High considered the skidrow Navajo drunks on the south side of town to be fair game and a quick source of pocket cash. Sometimes the corridors and study hall at the school would buzz with the boast of a 15-year-old junior that he had gone out and "got me an Indian", but that was often put down as bravado.

It was Sunday, April 21, that the mutilated bodies of Herman Benally, 34, and John Harvey, 39, were found eight miles north of Farmington in a deserted dusty foothill region frequented by local teenagers for parking, drinking, and partying. The two men were believed to have been killed early the same day.

The bodies were discovered when a Farmington family set out for a picnic among the desert scrub grass of Choke Cherry Canyon. The last of the three bodies was found six days later by a little boy out for a ride near the country club, north of town. Police said in addition to the scorching of the bodies, the genitals had been set afire, and an explosive had been stuffed into the bodies and set off.

A week later, the mutilated body of Davis Ignacio, 52, was discovered — he had died several weeks before the other victims.

Three Farmington teenagers — Anglos — were sentenced to the state school for boys for the murders. The men were all tortured and murdered while in a state of near-consciousness drunkenness. Their clothing had been set afire, burning sticks pressed to their bodies and melted plastic from burning cups dripped on their flesh. Their bodies had been mashed by huge rocks.

The murder site of Benally and Harvey is a natural rock amphitheater. In the center of the arena a single scorched tree trunk suggested the source of the fire that ignited the men's clothing and the attackers' burning sticks. Strips of clothing, handfuls of blood-caked dust, smashed and burned bushes were scattered over a 200-yard area.

The surreal scene suggested a wild midnight chase with two drunken Navajo men crawling, running, scrambling to smother the fire on their bodies and to evade their attackers.

Faint impressions on a discarded Polaroid tear sheet found at the scene identified the place where Herman Benally was finally killed. The latent negative image showed a naked man, face down in the dust, body and legs uncomfortably twisted, head positioned beside a huge rock which was probably one of the mutilation/murder weapons.

Farmington's mayor, Marlo Webb, expressed "shock" at the incidents and downplayed any possible race conflict. "Farmington and its citizens over the years have enjoyed an especially close relationship and friendship with the members of the Navajo Nation."



An arrest is made in Farmington, aided by the U.S. Cavalry, as the American Frontier tries to hold its ground

Wilbur Tsosie, spokesman for the Farmington Inter-tribal Indian Organization (FIIO) disagrees. In a letter to the mayor, he called the killings "the height of racism in Farmington... and not isolated incidents."

The demonstration marches, numbering from 1500 to 3,000 people, clogged Farmington's main streets every Saturday since May 11 and until the Sheriff's Posse paraded. In addition, FIIO confronted the city council with a list of demands including:

— open meetings with the council to air all grievances.

— action by the mayor and council requesting U.S. Civil Rights Commission hearings on discrimination/exploitation of Indians in the area.

— a law enforcement review committee with strong minority membership.

— integration of Navajo people into all levels of civil service.

— placement of an Indian center under the jurisdiction of Indians.

— creation of an alcoholic rehabilitation program staffed by Indians.

Mayor Webb says the demands lack "specifics". The demonstrations, he charges, are caused by "outside militants" who want to advance their own cause. "They want us to react, and we are not going to react."

With the ultimatum by the CNL, however, the mayor and his city council may have to react.

Mayor Webb's enthusiastic characterization of the Anglo/Indian relationship as "close" is not borne out by the city's history. Farmington, in fact, is a white island (30,000 people, 93.2 per cent Caucasian) resting on the edge of the largest Indian reservation on the North American continent (130,000 Navajos alone, plus Zuni, Hopi, and Ute.)

Reaping the Bitter Fruit of Racism

The crop the city of Farmington is beginning to reap is from the bitter seeds sown a hundred years ago, when invading white settlers started moving up the frozen San Juan River into a lovely green valley favored as a wintering spot by gold prospectors. The settlers formed vigilante groups to dispense arbitrary frontier "justice" — and to keep the Indians out of their new-found area.

Farmington is a terminal point in the El Paso Natural Gas Company's 24-inch line from Farmington to California. The oil and gas workers who came to Farmington worked hard, drank hard, and built up their little city without paying much attention to the Navajo people.

While the native people languished on the arid plateaus and desert lands, the new Farmington town blossomed into a major producer of fruit and livestock. The agricultural tradition continued until the discovery of the San Juan basin of large gas, oil, and low-sulfur coal deposits and their post-war development. The area now has the world's largest strip mine, a \$300-million complex of power plants and transmission lines that constitute the infamous pollution monster called the "Four Corners Power Plant."

Most of the energy resources are on Indian land. Yet it is Farmington which prospers as "the energy capital of the world" while reservation life continues to deteriorate. The annual per capita income on the reservation is less than \$1,000. 60% of the homes have no electricity on the reservation near the "energy capital of the world." Only 8% of the construction force on the Four Corners project was Navajo.

On one occasion, the mayor unwittingly reinforced an underlying racism when he replied to a Navajo request for police protection. "We're the ones who need protection," he half-jokingly responded.

The Farmington Daily Times gave front-page coverage with photos, to an April 20 Democratic Party rally that attracted 300 people. The march by some 3,000 Navajos on the same day rated the back page with no photos.

Letter after letter to the newspaper has the same theme: "No one forces the Indians to drink" and "Indians don't deserve special consideration."

Val Cooper, managing editor of the Times, says of the Coalition: "The bunch seems bent on self-destruction, and they'll take a lot of innocent people with them."

The CNL says it rejects violence as a weapon, but adds that it is prepared to "march and march and march" until demands are met. They add, though, that there is a strong likelihood of violence from both authorities and local Anglos — "rednecks and roughnecks."

There has been violence already. On May 19, six young white males, armed with machetes, are reported to have chased a Navajo man. He escaped by defending himself with barbed wire and fleeing to an Indian home.

On May 23, three white boys opened fire on a Navajo hogan in nearby Bloomfield. The father of the endangered family ran the attackers off with an exchange of gunfire.



The People Get It Together: 3,000 native marchers in Farmington on May 4 memorialize the slain brothers.

Farmington is conservative even for New Mexico because of its farm, oil, and Mormon religious influences. Most Anglo citizens say the Indians never have had it so good because of federal programs. The Indians even have it better than the Anglos because of the Government's generosity, others add.

"They're sweet people; they have a lovely sense of humor," says an Anglo sales clerk. "Many of the Navajos that come in here are as upset as we are. They think it's outsiders. That's the way the Communists work — demonstrate, divide one race against each other."

An Anglo auto parts dealer said, "The ones that are protesting have come from other places."

"They're a bunch of outsiders that are trying to get things stirred up. I've talked to some of the local Navajos, and hell, they don't have any complaints. They claim that it's only a few of the younger people and the outsiders."

Mayor Webb, an auto dealer and farm owner, adds, "We can't continue to devote so much of our time and energy to such a small segment."

Still, over 3,000 people came to fill the streets of Farmington during the Saturday marches. Almost all lived in the area and were accustomed to shopping in the town.

A peace-making committee appointed by the mayor didn't get off the ground when the chairman walked out of the first meeting, complaining of "obscenities" in the language of the Navajo delegation.

When the mayor's committee held its first and only meeting on June 18, one of the Navajos, in making his presentation, included the word "bullshit." Committee chairman Merrill Taylor, a Republican state representative, walked out of the meeting, refusing to return "unless I am assured respectful language is used." Apparently that encounter was more upsetting to him than the obscenities of the killings themselves.

The next day, Mayor Webb disbanded the committee and discharged all committee members, including the four elected representatives of the local Navajo community. "They never had, nor do they now have, any sincere desire to work with the community in resolving the differences they allege exist," Webb said of the Navajos.

"A lot of the white people who were appointed [to the Mayor's Commission] just can't take criticism," John RedHouse says. Anglos, in turn, are irate because they allowed the Navajos to march in peace, they say, and yet the Navajos would not accord the same right to the cavalrymen.

While Farmington officials don't seem terribly interested in talking to Coalition members, state and federal officials appear to be somewhat more willing. U.S. Civil Rights Commission investigator John Foster Dulles II has met with Navajos. The Commission reportedly plans to hold hearings in Farmington late in the summer to hear Navajo complaints.

A number of high ranking New Mexico state officials met with the Coalition June 27. At the meeting were representatives of the governor, the Alcoholic Beverage Control Division, the Health and Social Services Department, the Department of Education, the Environmental Improvement Agency, and the Attorney General's office.

Frank DiLuzio, Governor King's top aide, said it would take state agencies three weeks to investigate and respond to the Coalition's complaints. The Coalition, noting the governor's apparent lack of interest in going to Farmington, said if there is no response in three weeks, they will converge on the statehouse in Santa Fe and camp there until there is.

Experienced New Mexico political observers say they would be "more than just shocked" if there is any movement at all in three weeks. It seems no one (except the Navajos) can believe Indians might soon be camped on the colonial governor's lawn.

It is interesting, too, that the press has suddenly become alert to the problems in Farmington, although it seems to regard the situation as new. "Navajo Activism Forcing Clashes Between Cultures," a *Washington Post* headline read July 7, as if the murders and decades of racism were not clash enough.

Who Profits From Racism?

Farmington depends on the Indians for its prosperity. There are about 1500 Indians in the town itself, living in a ghetto on the south side, but often families come to town on the weekends for their supplies.

As the Rev. Billie Cleaver, one of about 150 blacks living in Farmington, says: "We are tired of being second-class citizens where we have to pay first-class prices."

There are American Indian Movement people in Farmington, mostly Navajos from surrounding areas. Larry Anderson, a Navajo from Fort Defiance and national AIM treasurer, says AIM came in only after the community asked for help in their organizing efforts. The tone and content of the speeches and the messages on the placards carried in the marches indicate there is strong support for AIM.

One Navajo, who asked that his name be withheld for fear of political repression, said, "We need AIM. Just as the blacks needed the Black Panthers, we need militants who are not afraid to stand up to the violence of the other side. We need people with guts."

The last time Navajos protested in Farmington was in the 1930s. Forty years later, there is still plenty of resentment, plus fear and anger. And in addition to racist attitudes, there is new anger over resource exploitation.

"The Navajo People are not for coal-gasification," one middle-aged Navajo man said. "The Tribal Council is for it. They get the money. They don't let the people know anything about it. Gasification is hurting the people. The people don't get paid the money. They give it to the tribal council, but not to the people. The whites are taking over our land, and are getting rich... and look at the pollution."

Navajos are also complaining that the new plants hire mainly Anglos, while the few Navajos who are hired get only menial jobs.

CNL leaders note that unemployment has remained high despite the massive coal gasification plants and their strip mines which have come to exploit the reservation. Coalition leaders also complain that tribal governments, Anglo corporations, and federal agencies reach agreements on the use of natural resources with no input from the grassroots people.

But Navajos have a different sentiment. "They think we will get tired of marching," says Jennie Allison. "But we won't get tired. They're not going to push us around anymore."

One march ended where it began — at Esquire Liquors, one of the main Indian bars. The crowd left the streets and started banging on the windows, chanting, "Close it down! Close it down!" An older Indian woman, in traditional dress — long flowing purple velvet, with her hair tied behind her head in a turquoise band — spoke: "Enough of our people have died. We have enough Indians to stop it right now."

Another Navajo woman, Sylvia Cambridge, an employee of a camera-assembly plant on the reservation, said, "The reason why I talk today is, I have had four relatives killed by alcohol. One three years ago, one last year, and two just this winter. We had just finished burying one and then another was killed, on the road in a car. It makes me sick," she said, a shift in the tone of her voice and her look darkening, "as I remember my family — kids, brothers. All these bars should close."

Until now, Governor Bruce King says he didn't want to become involved in the situation — it was a local problem, he said. "I don't want to interfere if it would make it difficult for the local government to negotiate," King said June 13.

Meanwhile, the president of Farmington's Merchants Association, W.H. "Bill" Nygren, said the Coalition had been "disrupting our rights." He said the Coalition was creating a feeling of unrest. "I think we should be given the opportunity to conduct our businesses and raise our families. We pay our taxes." He said the parades had been "hurting business."

The five parades which were held had a significant impact on local profits. Saturday is usually the day shopkeepers do their greatest volume of business as native people from surrounding reservations come into town to shop. When there is a demonstration, neither Indians nor whites shop.

In response, city officials hurriedly enacted an amendment to the public assembly law making it legal to refuse to let Navajos march. Seven Coalition members filed a petition in federal court asking the court to direct the city to issue parade permits.

Federal Court Judge H. Vearle Payne stated, "Anybody can demonstrate, whether the cause is popular or unpopular. The only thing the city can do is regulate the time, the place, and the manner." He issued an interim order allowing the Coalition to march on June 29 and July 6, and limiting the hours and the route of the marches. He cautioned the Coalition that if any disorders occurred, he would have to reconsider his decision.

The June 29 march was small and peaceable, and marchers complied with the orders to the letter.



Wilbur Tsosie said, "This [court] victory today shows us that we are in the right. We will be there tomorrow, next week, next year, until we see some concrete actions coming forth to meet our grievances."

The Coalition promises more court actions.

"The federal court decision is only number one in a long series of court battles that we will be dealing with," Fred Johnson says.

Johnson, acting as a private citizen, sought an order from the San Juan County District Court to restrain six liquor establishments from operating what he contends are public nuisances. He named the Turquoise and Zia Bars, Harry's Lounge, Copper Penny Bar, Paradox Bar, and Esquire Liquors as defendants, asking the court to permanently enjoin the bar owners "from all action

injurious to the public health, safety, and welfare." He contends that during June, the bar owners operated "over-the-counter liquor sales in such an illegal and irresponsible manner as to constitute a common law public nuisance."

The demand most stressed by the CNL is strict enforcement of laws against selling liquor to the obviously intoxicated. Prohibited by the New Mexico constitution from buying alcohol until 1953, Indians now find it easily available — bars cater to their money, and profit well from it. In just the past ten weeks, more than 6,250 Indians were taken into "protective custody" in Gallup for drunkenness.



Investigation into illegal alcohol selling practices have been asked of the state and the Navajo Tribal Council. According to Fred Johnson, Coalition member, a suit has already been filed charging seven bars — including two borderline nightspots, the Turquoise Inn and the Zia Bar — with being public nuisances, illegal selling of liquor to minors, and illegally selling to persons already intoxicated.

The Coalition has been successful in closing the bars temporarily on several occasions. When about 100 Navajos crowded into the Turquoise Bar one Saturday to demand that it be closed, owner Mary Taylor and two bartenders told the group they "had a right to do business." Amid shouts of "Close this place up!" Mrs. Taylor ducked into a back room for a conference with two state police officers.

The Coalition said it would close the bars every Saturday.

The CNL said it planned to file suits to eliminate lacks of native teachers in the schools, police brutality, discrimination in municipal personnel practices, and an "inadequate curriculum" in the education system. The Coalition also charged the local newspaper, *The Farmington Times*, with "slanted and unfair journalism." They also plan to file suits through the Federal Communications Commission against radio stations KENN and KWYK unless they "straighten up their biased news practices." Navajo radio announcer Louise Blue Eyes, who broadcasts a daily "Navajo Hour" on KENN, is under fire for her "hostile radio editorials" broadcast in the Navajo language against the CNL. The Coalition says KENN has refused to play tapes prepared by the CNL for equal time and reply.

"It will all pass over soon," said one elderly shopkeeper. "We'll just wait it out. Things will calm down again."

Two blond long-haired young men, each carrying a pair of newly-bought Western boots, walked briskly past the protesters. "I don't think it's right," said one. "They are blaming the whole town for what only a couple of kids did. They are trying to make an issue out of nothing. Yesterday they burned a couple of American flags — things have gone too far."

"These people are just trying to stir up trouble," says councilman Jimmy Drake. "These parades could be caused by subversives, you know — Communists for instance."

A druggist stood outside his store looking rather disgusted at the Navajo demonstration. "Demonstrations aren't going to accomplish anything. Do you know that there are just a few militant outsiders stirring this thing up? [The protesters] should sit down and talk. And I don't really know what they are complaining about. They came here years ago in a ramshackled old wagon with their kids and dogs, and now look what they have. They should be grateful, not complaining!"

His words were drowned out by an older Indian woman in the pick-up truck with the sound system. "This is only the beginning," she says.

(Thanks to Carrol Cagle for his article in the *Washington Post*, to Bob Fitch for his article in the *American Report*, to New Dawn, David DeVoss of *Time Magazine*, to the *Associated Press*, to Wesley Pruden Jr. of the *National Observer*, and Martin Waldron of the *New York Times* for portions of the information used here.)

"IN THE JUDGMENT OF NEWS EDITORS ACROSS THE NATION, THE KILLING OF NINE NATIVE MEN ISN'T MUCH OF A STORY" — TAKE ACTION ON MEDIA

(The following editorial is excerpted from *American Report*, a review of Religion and American Power published at 235 E. 49th St., New York, N.Y. 10017, recommended to our readers as a good source of what's happening in America today.)

Suppose that during 1974, a dozen black persons living in Mississippi or Alabama had been murdered, that most of the slayings were unsolved, that all 12 victims had been subjected to torture — three of them beaten, burned, mutilated, all of them exhibiting from 10 to 20 stab wounds, front and back.

People would have noticed. There would have been intense coverage in the national media, protest meetings, debates in Congress, civil rights groups would be prodding the White House and Justice Departments to take action. And, in all likelihood, the murders would stop.

Exactly that story has been happening in 1974, except that 1) the locale is New Mexico, 2) the victims are American Indians, and 3) nobody is paying much attention.

.....

The point is not that American blacks now enjoy equal justice or equal security in the United States; anyone who reads statistics or headlines knows better. But the New Mexico story — which in the judgment of news editors across the nation isn't much of a story — does underline the truth that Native Americans remain negligible objects in the national consciousness.

Here are some ideas: call your local media and/or the local offices of Associated Press, United Press International, and the networks. Ask for more details, ask why this (and other stories) isn't getting better coverage.

For more basic knowledge of American Indian affairs, subscribe to AKWESASNE NOTES, which is at once radical and gentle, strong and charming, intelligent and unpretentious.

Remember that Native Americans exist within a system created by us late arrivals, and that some Indian "leaders" have been coopted to support the system rather than to defend the rights of their peoples — so that it's not always easy to know when a tribal council or spokesperson is echoing the line of the Great White Father.

KILLINGS REPRESENT A SICKNESS IN SOCIETY, A CONTAGION OF RACISM PASSED BY WORD OF MOUTH, GENERATION TO GENERATION, CONTAMINATING US ALL

(This letter to the editor appeared in *Seer's Catalogue*, an alternate newspaper published at 4207 San Isidro N., Albuquerque, New Mexico 87107, and recommended to our readers as a source of news on the Southwest.)

Six slain Indians ... mutilated and tortured beyond recognition. The old West? Wounded Knee 1890? The Trail of Tears? No, Gallup 1973 and Farmington 1974. A century apart, yet occurring for the same reason. Racism.

We seldom realize how much savagery and brutality this sickness has brought on through history. All people are racist. In most cases, this racism remains inside an individual, therefore suppressed. In families and communities where this sickness is reinforced, it develops into a more noticeable

form. This is what occurred in Gallup and Farmington — these communities created an atmosphere which led to the brutal slayings of at least six Indians.

Three youths are being held for [some of the] deaths. Psychiatrists will find no distorted genes or metabolic inconsistencies, for their sickness was carried on for generations — not genetically, but through word of mouth.

These youths are not the only sick people in this community — they are merely representative of a white racist society in which these youths are being raised and their racist tendencies being nourished. Look through history and you will find the forefathers of these youths.

—Bob Gougelet



OUR DEAD BROTHERS

Kee Emerson Jones, 54, and George Dennison, 47. Their bodies were found north of Gallup May 6, 1973. They had been killed with their hands tied behind their backs. Their intestines had been cut out and one had his throat slashed from ear to ear.

Gilbert Saunders, 26: His mutilated body was found near a city dump at Gallup, in February, 1974.

John Earl Harvey, 39, and Herman Bennally, 34, were found in an arroyo north of Farmington, New Mexico, beaten to death. They had been castrated with burning sticks. Their heads were crushed with rocks, their clothing taken off, their bodies burned. Bodies were discovered April 21, 1974.

David Ignacio, 52, found April 27, 1974, in the hills north of Farmington. His body was burned and mutilated, his skull had been crushed.

Willie Harrison was found dead in the San Juan River May 10, 1974, about 8 miles from Farmington. Native people say he did not drown.

Andrew Acquie, 47, Arnold Cellicion, 44, and Alfred Yazzie, 24, were found dead in a field south of Gallup. Each had been stabbed up to 20 times.

LET ALL CHICANOS OPEN THEIR EYES

(A statement of support of the native people attempting to deal with the racism in New Mexico was issued soon after the last of 10 bodies of native men was discovered. It was signed by Dr. Alonso Atencio of the University of New Mexico; Bobby Garcia Memorial Clinic; Chicano Communications Center; Gloria Sandoval of Chicano Studies of UNM, Jose Garner of the Central Labor Committee; Max Martinez, La Federacion de la Raza; Teatro Colectivo de Albuquerque; Las Chicanas; Mercado de Canoncity y Cooperativa; Minority Education Research and Development, Patrick de Baca and William Medina of the National Chicano Health Organization, and James Maestas, New Mexico State Employees Association.)

Chicanos from all over New Mexico are appalled and deeply angered by the brutal murders of our Indian brothers.

We recognize these killings as not just the acts of racist individuals, but as the product of a whole racist climate and society. It is not just a few psychotics who stabbed, burned, and mutilated and crushed the skulls of those Indians — it is the entire non-Indian community and all who turn their backs on racism, exploitation, and oppression.

We reject the thinking of those Spanish-surnamed people who do not like to recognize their own Indian blood and heritage and who seek to identify with the white establishment instead.

Our own history is blood-stained with the same racism that killed those Indian brothers. . . There is only one

way to break the grip of racism and exploitation and that is by the united efforts of all who suffer from those forces. Let all Chicanos open their eyes and see that when the murderous hand of racism falls on an Indian, it falls on all of us. We are oppressed



and exploited by the same forces. We must support our Indian brothers and sisters against our common enemy, and we call for that support now.

San Carlos: Getting At The Root Of The Problem

San Carlos, Arizona — Buck Kitcheyan, a newcomer to the muddy San Carlos political scene here, was elected tribal council chairman June 13 in a run-off election against Edmund Wesley. Kitcheyan received 1,108 votes to 951 for Wesley. Two other candidates, incumbent Marvin Mull, Sr., and Tony Machukay, were eliminated in the regular election which saw the two top candidates tied with 727 votes each.



The election was controversial — the Federal Bureau of Investigation was presented with a petition bearing 300 signatures alleging irregularities in the May 29 general election. 58% of the eligible voters cast ballots in the hotly-contested balloting.

The Mull administration had been strongly criticized for irregularities which put the tribe in near-bankruptcy. On June 12, the tribal financial records were subpoenaed by a federal grand jury in Phoenix. Tribal members had attempted to get an investigation while Mull was still in office, but failed to win the ear of U.S. officials. Finally, however, a team of Interior Department auditors did a financial investigation and although their report was not released, it allegedly contained findings of "improprieties having possible criminal implications" and "other transactions which indicate special benefit to individuals."

Citing the lack of internal fiscal controls "to prevent or disclose errors, thefts, shortages, embezzlements, or other misappropriation of funds," the report also said the tribe had not lived up to financial agreements.

Although no criminal charges were filed, the Interior Department appointed a special seven-member group to take control of tribal finances last November.

A Justice Department suit led to a temporary restraining order that postponed tribal elections originally scheduled for April 2. The federal suit charged that there were irregularities in the nominating procedures for candidates. On April 16, that was resolved when U.S. District Court Judge James Walsh reset the election for May 29. He also ordered supervision of the election by tribal officials, federal inspectors, and the U.S. District Court in Tucson.

"Indians Can't Handle Money"

The financial tragedies at San Carlos which the newly-elected administration will have to straighten out would be comic if the lives of so many people had not been tampered with. Perhaps the mismanagement appears to lend weight to the stereotype that "Indians can't handle money". But the situation of the Apaches at San Carlos is not one of recent making, and involves a long and sordid history.

Apaches have had to make numerous fast-changing shifts in life-style and economic systems in the past 100 years. The San Carlos reservation was set up in 1872. There, several thousand western Apaches were governed and managed by the Indian agent as sole and absolute authority, backed by military might. The traditional Apache authority system of local group heads and band chiefs was radically altered.

Incoming Anglo miners, farmers, and cattlemen were "protected" from the Apaches through this system of confinement. In reality, the Anglos were free to shake down the Apache holdings with impunity.

On the reservation, many different groups of Apaches were forced to live together with a resulting social and linguistic confusion. But the superintendent kept things running through his own system: the daily roll call and head-count, the creation of Anglo-appointed puppet chiefs, the Indian police system, the rationing of food, and other special practices. All Apaches were under the constraint of soldiers and the superintendent was both judge and jury. Apache language, religion, and the socialization of the young were forcibly banned or altered through institutions such as the religious mission system and the boarding school. Social and cultural genocide took over where physical genocide by the military left off.

By 1897, the military presence was lessening, and some Apaches were working for wages on the railroad which was the being built across the reservation. Others were working for Anglo farmers and cattle ranchers. Apache labor gangs were recruited for constructing Arizona highways and dams in the eastern part of the state. And after World War I, Apaches were employed in the nearby copper mines also. People earned cash by

cutting wild grass for use as hay by the military, or by cutting wood for the Agency or for the railroad. Many labored in the construction of government-planned irrigation ditches and the quarrying of stone for Agency buildings at old San Carlos and at Rice.

The trend was set: the Apaches were to be integrated into the Anglo economic system as laborers, and their land and resources were to belong to Anglo interests.

Then came the government scheme to turn the Apaches into farmers. Several thousand acres were put into cultivation along the Gila River at old San Carlos. A mill was built where the Apaches exchanged grain for flour. Once again, the Apaches made the necessary changes in their lives, and it was said that they were among the best Indian farmers in the U.S. during this period.

Make Way for Progress!

But in 1929, two events took place which changed the pattern of life described above. The U.S., under the Hoover Administration, built Coolidge Dam on the western end of the Gila River, flooding out the old San Carlos and the irrigated farm lands, and destroying the several-thousand-member Apache community there. The announced purpose of the dam was to provide water for the Pima Indians, some hundred or more miles downstream near Phoenix. The Pima had been "peaceful" agricultural Indians who had helped the Anglo settlers, it was said, and this was their reward. However, they didn't receive it — only Anglo cattle and farming interests benefitted, and both the Pimas and the Apaches were losers.

The Depression drove Apache wage workers from the Arizona labor market, and forced them to return to the reservation, where they became dependent upon the economic support of kinsmen. And thus both farming and the wage economy were gone.

Apaches never recovered from the loss of their irrigated farming lands, but they tried to continue to provide food for their families on small plots. But extensive upper Gila River agricultural development by Mormon farmers using deep-well water irrigation so lowered the water table on the reservation that rivers ran during summer rains only and springs dried up.

Apaches who attempted to farm after Coolidge Dam in other parts of the reservation had their parcels reduced to gardens of only 2.5 acres. The U.S. said it could not afford to drill wells to compete with the Anglo interests, and where wells were drilled, the U.S. failed to maintain the equipment. The Government now said that farming was no longer in for Apaches.

The only thing that was available then was emergency government-subsidized public works programs. And there was also the cattle program which had been started in 1923 under the direction of Indian Superintendent J.B. Kitch. Under his administration, the BIA began to oppose Anglo cattle ranchers who had been leasing reservation grazing lands. One by one, their leases at San Carlos were allowed to expire without renewal. Stock was then imported by the government as a starter herd for the tribe, and for individual Indians on a loan basis, to be repaid in kind when an individual's herd began to calf.

The Apache people took to the new economic option with great interest, as they had with everything else they were asked to try. Cattle associations were organized which corresponded for the most part to old Apache dialect and band organization, and the people worked hard to improve range land. The Apache Nation was on the move again.



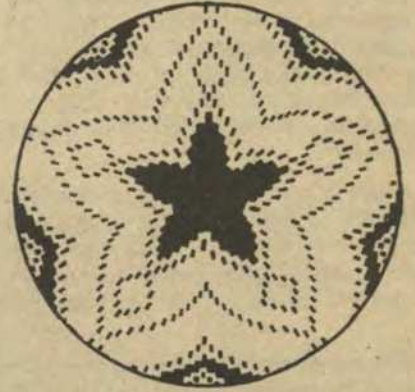
A revitalization religious movement emerged at this time, the Holy Grounds religion, but this was crushed through the imprisonment by the Government of its head, Silas John.

World War II: The Economy Improves

During World War II, the Apache people at San Carlos were once again directed outwards towards Anglo society. For the first time, Indians were drafted into the armed forces, although in Arizona, they were not yet citizens. A number of people also secured relatively well-paying jobs in the mines and in defense plants. The cattle market was extremely good and provided economic incentive for those remaining on the reservation to work to increase their cattle herds.

As a result, people gave up living in wickiups and began to build small frame houses, although without most "modern conveniences".

But when the war was over, there was a severe economic depression. Returned war veterans became the highest unemployment group. Some of the veterans made several unsuccessful attempts to farm before a number of them, forced into idleness and disillusionment about the "world made safe for democracy," began to drink excessively. Entire communities became socially disorganized.



Negative Indian stereotypes were reinforced in the public school education of Apache children, for the Government had shifted its education policy from one of boarding schools to that of sending Indian children to public schools. Townspeople and Anglo BIA personnel looked upon them as loafers and drunks.

The "integration" of the schools meant Apache children going to Anglo schools, predominately Mormon. The ordeal has not been easy for the Apache children due to racial prejudice and Mormon religious intolerance.

Another Government "reform" disbanded the many small gardens which could at least feed families. The BIA said these were "unproductive" after the Second World War. All farm land is now part of a tribal corporate business enterprise. The people bitterly complain of the loss of their gardens, and are critical that their tribal council has gone along with the Government to quash subsistence gardening so that large-scale commercial farming under tribal management can take place. Again, few jobs are available from this enterprise, and profits are ploughed back into further investment which has meant that the people have received little if any benefit from tribal farming.

Even the last refuge of employment — picking cotton on land which was once their own — ceased as the fields became mechanized.

To make matters worse, the Government started a horse reduction campaign, killing off the wild stock and forcing the removal of riding horses from the community. This harsh policy badly hurt the new orientation toward cattle raising, horse-riding as a way-of-life, as well as running directly counter to Apache religious beliefs regarding respect for all life.

Still today, the disappearance of tall grass and the eroded range land, the lack of rainfall are attributed by Apaches to the killing of the horses.

Then the cattle market plunged downward in 1952. Cattle income dropped to about \$800 per family, and has gone downhill since that time. Smaller cattle-owners have been forced to sell their breeding stock to clear store debts, and many Apaches are now out of the cattle business altogether.

Anglo interests have benefitted from the Apache loss. Apaches are not permitted by the BIA to graze nearly as many head of cattle as are Anglo cattlemen in Arizona. (Both groups are regulated by government agencies.)

Another BIA "improvement" was to "improve" the cattle industry technically, which meant fewer Apache cowboys were needed to herd the cattle. The Government's mode of proper management was of a highly-rationalized industry with long-term financial investment, and the eventual conversion of Apache cattle-owning to a stockholding plan in a giant tribal operation. Instead of having Apache cowboys, the BIA plan would have Apache financiers.

All of this contributed to a serious cash drain on the financial reserves of the tribal council and the associations. At a time of economic recession, of job scarcity and unemployment, the BIA cattle program was to tie up cattle assets in long-term capital investment. Associations were required to build new fences, lease trucks, drill wells — tying up most available capital and forcing the associations to make assessments on individual members.

These Government "reforms" drove the associations into debt to off-reservation banks, and left less profit for unemployed association members.

Tribal Business Enterprise?

The financial burden of the post-war depression was absorbed at the expense of the tribal business enterprises. These businesses are corporately owned, and are supposed to be income-producing activities. Some of

them were existing businesses owned by Anglo traders who sold out to the tribe because the economic misfortunes of the Apaches had caused their businesses to be unprofitable.

With BIA backing, the traders sold out to the tribe at a good price, thereby saving their initial investment (after making profits for years). In at least one instance, a former trading-post owner continued to have his income assured by shifting over to employment with the business he had just sold!

So the tribal council was moving into the business field in the early 1950s at about the same time private business wanted out. Initially, the enterprises flourished and profits grew. However, as economic conditions on the reservation worsened, too much credit was extended, driving up prices. Also, the Anglo managers insisted on expanding and remodeling the enterprises, using tribal funds to realize their dream-world — all of this at the same time tribal assets were already sapped to provide welfare and loans to destitute tribal members.

As a result, store profits dropped from over \$100,000 to about \$8,000 in one year's time, and thereafter most enterprises have failed to show a profit. Remodeling the tribal cafe where Anglo visitors and BIA personnel found it convenient to eat took additional funds.

The coup-de-grace occurred when the BIA transferred law-and-order expenses (police and courts) to the tribal council. This meant an additional \$80,000 annual expense to the tribal budget.

The tribe withdrew savings from the U.S. Treasury Trust Account to cover its indebtedness. The BIA permitted these developments, and in fact, forced through the transfer of law-and-order expenses. The BIA also backed the elaborate and expensive plan of new store acquisitions and remodeling of facilities, all in the name of reservation economic development.

The Anglos at San Carlos — managers and government bureaucrats — didn't consciously bankrupt the tribe. They just acted in their own interests. There have been suspicious transactions. On more than one occasion, white managerial employees of the tribal council have purchased at low prices Apache breeding cattle to start their own herds and private ranches. The Anglo manager of the tribal herd, for example, received a percentage of all cattle sold at the annual sales, for he is the auctioneer. There has been resistance to the suggestions that an Apache assistant could learn to take over his job. The manager has been known to earn as high as \$100,000 in a single season through his cattle percentage.

Such practices corrupt Apache leaders. One tribal chairman is said to have "sold" the tribal cotton allotment to an Anglo farmer for \$3,000 which the chairman then pocketed for himself. The Agency superintendent knew of the sale, and had collaborated in its completion through his silence and failure to press charges or to block the transaction. Of course, the fact that the BIA people actively backed the incumbent chairman may have been a factor in the official silence.

The Tribal Chairman: Tammany Hall Revisited

The role of the tribal chairman in the tribal council system of government deserves explanation. On the surface, the tribal council system seems democratic enough. But one must observe the political/economic context of the Indian situation in present-day U.S.A.



Through conquest, first the military and later the federal agencies came to stand in the role of landlord or patron. Legally, the U.S. is only the trustee of Indian land, but in actual practice, it has operated to benefit private interests at the expense of its trust.

In tribal politics at San Carlos, the tribal chairman, regardless of which political faction he represents, feels the need to keep complete control over all tribal activities, to have the final "say" among his own people as to who does what. The situation of his people is urgent; competition for jobs is cut-throat. Where most of the power is in the hands of the BIA, a tribal chairman can corner the little power left for him only by cornering all available jobs.

The BIA staff people usually condone and encourage the chairman's absolute control over patronage jobs — the only jobs — as long as he plays along with them and helps them to establish "a good record" for the

reservation. As long as the tribal chairman does not question their right and duty to make all the real decisions, the BIA people do not question the corrupt practices of the tribal chairman.

Gradually, the tribal chairman becomes more accessible to Anglo bureaucrats and politicians than to the ordinary people of the reservation — after all, it is with the Anglos that the real sources of power rest. Inevitably, the reservation people begin to grumble, complaining of the chairman's inaccessibility and dictatorial nature, and suspect him of "selling out" to non-Indian interests, or of caring more about his national reputation in national organizations than his reputation among his own people.



It is small wonder, given the picture described above, that any enterprise or project initiated by the tribal office is met on the Apache community-level with a good deal of skepticism. And all of this plays back into the stereotype, believed by Anglos and Apaches alike in a self-fulfilling prophecy: Apaches are bad at business and are incompetent to manage their own affairs.

Enter Private Enterprise, Goodbye \$\$\$

From time to time, private businessmen have approached the tribal council and the superintendent of the BIA on various kinds of business ventures. The BIA has promoted the idea that the tribal council should sign over its resources to private business in long-term, low-interest, low-payment deals — pointing to these deals as major breakthroughs in Indian economic development. Nothing is further from the truth. These business ventures are seldom successful, and any success which is had is due to the low lease rates and non-union underpaid labor. These tribal contracts to outside businesses usually mean run-away shops and represent "industrial" enterprises such as toy assembly lines, fish-hook "factories" and power sewing-machining shops. In all cases, management jobs and technical positions are given to Anglo workers, and Indian employment is actually minimal. The tribal council benefits little from its business leases because little or no charges are made as an incentive to get the business there in the first place.

Small fly-by-night operators have approached the tribal council with get-rich-quick schemes. These promoters want the tribe to underwrite the major costs of their schemes for they themselves don't have the capital. At San Carlos, they want to turn a quick profit from reservation natural and human resources in such marginal enterprises as semi-precious gem-stones, tufa stone quarrying, and charcoal production — all of which can be run at a profit for the Anglo entrepreneurs only through the exploitation of Indian resources and labor.

Two brothers ran several small asbestos mines during the war and early post-war years when the government maintained price supports. The brother partners used Apache labor at non-union wages. Mining operations were labor-intensive and unsafe — there were tragic accidents. When the Government support ended, they closed the mines, throwing the Apache miners out of work.

Later, the same pair hooked the tribal council on several economic ventures which failed: a lumber mill, an airport scheme, a charcoal enterprise. In all three instances, they had the active cooperation of Agency officials in spite of the brothers' shaky business reputation in nearby Anglo communities, and the fact that Apaches had on more than one occasion learned of the unsavory ethical reputation of these particular "businessmen". Agency authorities persuaded the tribal council to go along with the ventures over the objections of a broad section of the local Apaches, particularly those men and their families who had worked for the brothers.

It is significant that the BIA and other government agencies have been unwilling to commit federal funds to long-range economic development — the risks have had to be taken by the tribal council until it has become all but bankrupt.

Efforts of Apaches to go into business individually have been fruitless — government funds have not been available to them, no matter how stable their reputations. Banks in the area will not extend credit.

And the kinds of things which Government does to aid Anglo cattlemen have not been available to Apaches. Apaches have asked to have their own feeder lot for reservation cattle, thereby cutting out the middleman between cattle-grower and meatpacker. Apache beef

could be subsidized by the Government if it wished to see real reservation economic development, but of course, such a subsidy would conflict with vested Anglo interests.

As it stands now, Apache beef must be sold to the cattlebuyer who sells to the meatpacker who sells to wholesaler who sells back to the tribal store which sells to the Apache consumer at higher-than-city prices.

The Government could very easily subsidize a local reservation meat-packing concern, and guarantee a market through military and agency purchases — or even purchases for BIA boarding school consumption. Such a plan would benefit Indian economies, purchasing power would be increased — to say nothing of improved self-image.

1984 Came Early to San Carlos

Today, the fortunate few on the reservation who have regular jobs work either for the BIA, the U.S. Public Health Service, or for the tribal council. In a work force of 2,000, that means job opportunity is limited to 150 slots. For other employment, one must leave the reservation, perhaps by joining the armed forces of the U.S., perhaps by BIA relocation to an urban area — Los Angeles, San Francisco, Denver, Chicago, Dallas. Success in these ventures is the exception, not the rule, and most relocatees eventually return to the reservation. Even if in the meantime they have obtained skills, there is almost no job market for Apaches in the small Anglo towns which ring the reservation.

And that's the stage, all set for the corruption which has been prevalent in tribal politics.

For 80% of the people, income is through welfare, social security — or getting credit from the tribal enterprises on future cattle sales. Cattleowners no longer work their own cattle herds within their respective associations. The herds are now managed for the most part by small crews of professional stockmen, aided by hired hands at round-up time. Thus a man receives store credit throughout the year for his share of what he might receive at sale time. So although cattle-raising is income producing, it has the social characteristics of a "handout."

It is natural then that tribal council elections are times when cash, liquor, favors, and public "feeds" are dispensed. People are extremely anxious to back a successful candidate to the tribal council, for one's economic livelihood and that of one's family may be at stake. To have at least one earning member in an extended family is important economic insurance, especially if the extended family owns few or no cattle.

Available sources of income are insufficient for the needs of the community. After the twice-yearly cattle sales, a cattle owner usually receives his profits in the form of credit at the local tribal store.

That leaves welfare assistance and social security rivaling cattle as a source of income. A few farm jobs at low wages are filled, and every chance to go lumbering or mining is utilized. A few men are fortunate enough to hold a year-around stockman job with one of the reservation cattle associations.

Enter Tribal Politics and the BIA

Community government is almost entirely lacking. Only the tribal government exists as a political entity. There isn't even a town-hall forum to consider matters common to all community residents. There is deep-seated suspicion of all officials, whether Anglo or Apache, whether elected or appointed.

In the little community of Bylas, there are six churches, with the three newest and largest ones evangelical in orientation. Two have an Apache pastorate, and services are conducted in the Apache language. The fundamentalist church groups (the Assembly of God and two Miracle Churches) often act as a political coalition, for instance, to elect Marvin Mull in the last round of tribal elections.

A fundamental Protestant religious faction got moving in the 1960s, but because it did not embrace all the people, the reservation remains badly split in its ideology, frustrating attempts to overcome economic problems.

The American Friends Service Committee undertook a community development program from 1957 to 1967 at San Carlos. The response from the peoples was favorable, but economic development remained an abysmal failure.

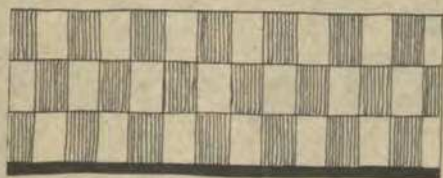
But this long and complex history should give a hint that change is not going to come easy. United States people can tell the Apaches to "forget the past — what's been done is done." It is only fair, then, that they find some answer to the Apache question: "How then do we get ourselves out of this mess into which the United States of America has gotten us?"

The answers to that question don't seem to be coming from anyone — the Apaches have only themselves and cultural values and ways that kept them going for centuries to turn to for hope.

(We are grateful to Steve Talbot of the Native American Studies Program at the University of California at Berkeley for most of the information used here for background, and to friends at San Carlos for information on the current financial tragedies.)

Intermountain School Under Attack

Brigham City, Utah — The words "Intermountain School" mean two things. First, they are the name of a boarding school for Navajo Indian students that the Bureau of Indian Affairs established out of an abandoned military hospital in Brigham City, 24 years ago. Second, they are a code phrase for controversy incarnate. In the last few years, Intermountain School (IMS) has been the target of ridicule and praise, BIA evaluation reports, task forces, a law suit, state study committees, political dealings, and practically any other form of contention that can develop around a secondary education facility. Things rarely go smoothly at Intermountain.



[The facilities now occupied by the school were originally built by the U.S. Army during World War II, and were operated as Bushwell General Hospital. In 1946, the Army declared the hospital surplus, and it was vacant until 1949 when it was turned over to the BIA.

[At that time, there were more than 18,000 Navajos of school age who were not in school. Many of them 12 years of age or older never had the opportunity to set foot inside a school. With some remodeling and the addition of a few buildings, the school began operations and received the first group of 542 Navajos in 1950. As of 1970, more than 3400 students have graduated from the school.

In 1950, when the BIA took over the mammoth hospital facility that the military had abandoned several years before, the new IMS fit in nicely with the Bureau's stated educational mandate. For one thing, World War Two had brought an educational awakening to the Navajo Reservation in Arizona and New Mexico where educational facilities were almost non-existent. And for another thing, IMS was 700 miles from the reservation — a perfect distance for the BIA's theories on Indian education. As one BIA publication stated, "... public schools have the task of preserving the prevailing customs of our society, namely the same language, same costume, same diet, housing, social customs and civil responsibilities. The task of Intermountain School is to change language, change diet, costume, housing, manners, customs, vocations and civil duties." And it was felt that the best way to do that changing was to get the students as far away from home as possible.

But that theory was also forced into change. The ideas of cultural pride and pluralism began to manifest themselves and the students at IMS began to report back home that the curriculum at the school was inadequate, that the total atmosphere of the school was repressive and demeaning to their heritage, and that they were the target of unwanted religious evangelizing. There were also stories of illegal corporal punishment and the school practice of injecting intoxicated students with the tranquilizer Thorazine despite the manufacturer's warning that the drug should not be used when there was alcohol in the system.

These charges resulted in a law suit that originated three years ago, which, although it has never been heard on its merits, is currently seeking its way into the Supreme Court. The case has as plaintiffs the members of the IMS Chapter of the National Indian Youth Council (NIYC) and it contains seven causes of action against the Secretary of the Interior, the BIA, and the administration of IMS. Among other things, the suit charges that the operation of IMS violates Navajo/U.S. treaty provisions, that it violates the students' freedom to exercise their traditional Navajo religion, that it prohibits parents from meaningfully participating in their children's education, that it breaches the "statutory prohibition against wrongfully inducing Indian parents to consent to the removal of their children beyond the limits of an Indian reservation," and others.

The suit has been consistently dismissed on procedural grounds in the lower courts and a recent response to the suit by the U.S. Solicitor General said that the case was moot because administrative steps had been taken at IMS to cure the problems. However, the heart of the suit is that the only cure to the problem would be the closing of IMS as an Indian high school. But to that, the Government would reply that closing IMS is a distinct possibility. In fact, some view the situation as a race to see what closes the school first — the law suit or the BIA.

For the past few years there has been some talk around the BIA that IMS be closed. For example, in 1971, James Hawkins, then head of the BIA's education

division, told *The Washington Post* that he opposed the concept of boarding schools that were far distant from the reservation and that the BIA planned to close IMS as a Navajo school by 1973. However, the next time Hawkins met with the press, he said that the school was not going to be phased out.

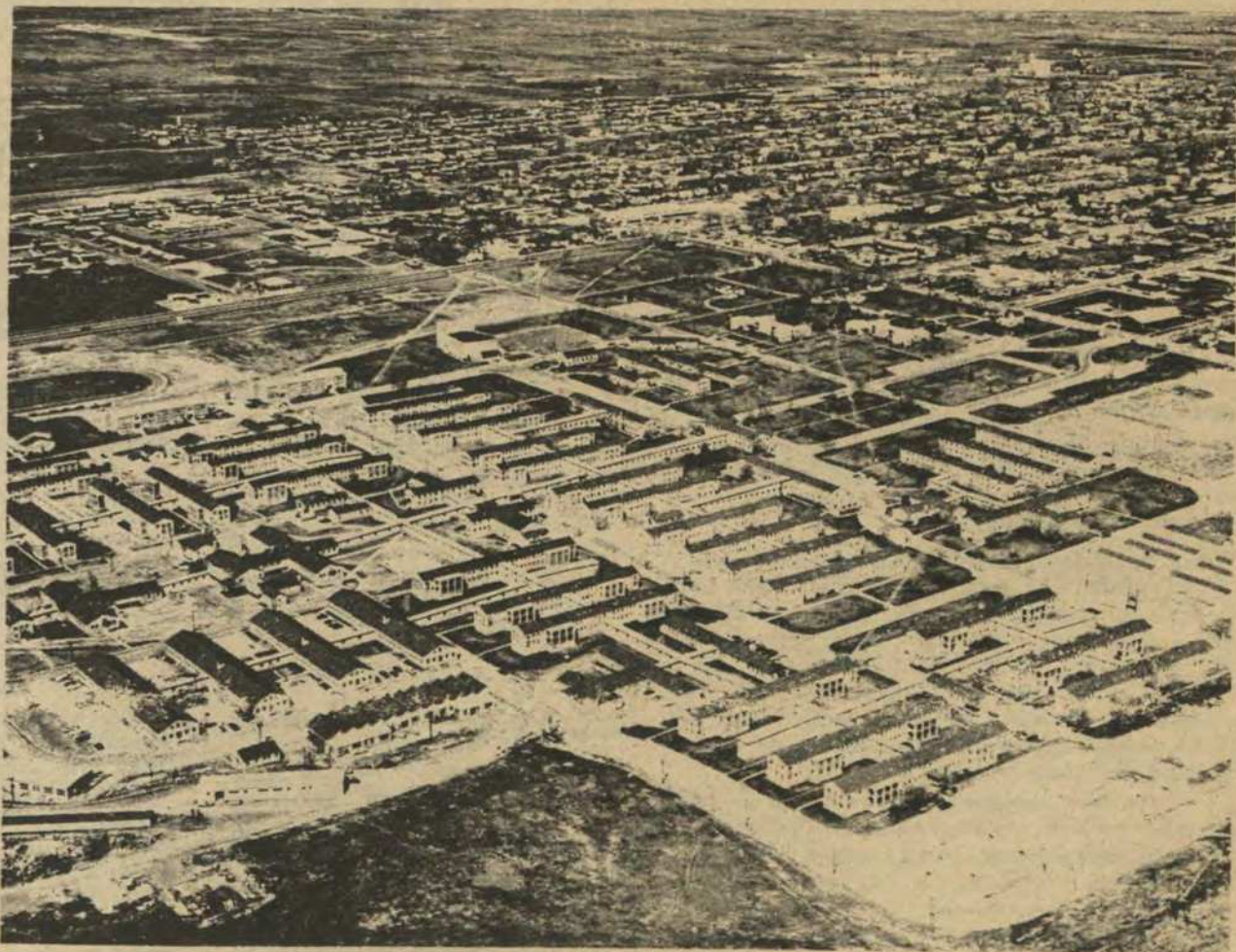
Observers say the change in Hawkins's story came as a result of pressures from both the citizens of Brigham City where IMS is the largest single employer, and from "old line" BIA employees who have attended IMS or have worked there and maintain a strong loyalty to the school and its theory of education. These two forces have long had the ear of the Utah Congressional delegation and state government, which has opposed any plans to do away with IMS as a high school.

[Until recently, the school had operated at capacity of 2,150 students each year with approximately 300 teachers, guidance personnel, maintenance personnel and medical staff. Now with just 700 students, it has an operating budget of \$2.5 million and 242 employees. The preceding year, the school had 1400 students, 342 employees and a budget of \$4.2 million. The school had \$2-million worth of renovations two years ago, and another \$1.5-million is needed. Much of the facility is now boarded shut.

[As of March 1, BIA Commissioner Morris Thompson ordered the enrollment cut to 500 with the staff cut to 50.]

The next move to change IMS then went to the Navajo Tribe, which in 1972 passed a resolution to stop sending students to Intermountain. The resolution called for a gradual three-year phase-out in which no new students would be sent to the school. Since that time, the student population has dropped from 2100 students to 700. In a recent interview Bob Chiago, former head of the Navajo Tribe's Education Committee and now in charge of the University of Utah's Indian Studies Program, said there were several reasons for his nation's decision.

First, there was the matter of the budget. Chiago explained that many schools that had been built on the reservation since 1950 were only filled to one-half capacity, thus raising the per-pupil cost of on-reservation education. For example, he said, at the time of the resolution, a new high school had been built at Tuba City, Arizona, and the Navajo Community College was moving from its original location in the Many Farms High School into new facilities, making even more space available. Also, Chiago said the BIA was planning a cutback on its educational funds for the reservation, thereby threatening to close some of the on-reservation schools. The Navajo Council decided that if a money squeeze was going to mean the closing of any schools, IMS would be the first to go.



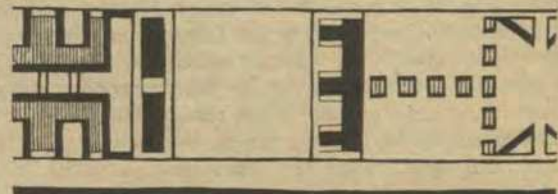
The BIA's Intermountain School: Not Exactly Like Home on the Reservation

He also said that the nation was beginning to hear allegations about conditions at the Utah facility, such as a high rate of student alcoholism, cases of rape, possibilities of prostitution and exploitation of students by some Brigham City businessmen. And there were many questions about the quality of the education the Navajo students were receiving. He said the

distance between IMS and the reservation precluded any possibilities of keeping a close watch on the curriculum and conditions at the school.

When the Navajos began abandoning the school, IMS administrators started looking for other sources of students. For example, a growing number of Seminole students from Florida began attending. And the school began a large recruiting drive based on talk that IMS was a show case for Indian education and that it was an entree to higher learning.

Even detractors of the school admit that IMS has some of the finer facilities of the BIA boarding school system, including extensive electronic training equipment, library training program, and other vocationally-oriented capabilities. But they also point to the school administrators' refutations of their own claims in various applications for federal financial assistance — applications that made IMS look like anything but a show-case.



Part of the current IMS law suit draws heavily from the school's 1971 application for Title I Indian education funds. Among other items, the application listed:

- 41% of the students demonstrated negative behavior or attitudes.
- 24% of the students were involved in excess use of alcohol or drugs during the 1970-71 school year.
- almost 300 students cut classes enough to have their grades reduced short of failure.
- about \$13,000 is spent each year to repair vandalism to school property including 300 to 500 broken windows a month.
- 39% of students tested demonstrated a lack of basic consumer skills such as not having enough grasp of mathematics to compute a food budget.
- several reading tests showed that 800 students were at least 3.7 years behind the national average in reading skills.
- of 995 students taking the California Achievement Test in 1970-71, 95% scored four or more years behind the national average in reading skills. In fact, 644 students were six or more years behind.
- Only 38 of the 373 graduating seniors in 1970-71 planned any post-high school education, including vocational school.

Of that 38 students, several observers said that a good number probably did not follow up on their plans for higher education. This also contradicts some state-

these college students attended secondary school, but he speculated that on or near-reservation schools were producing more college-bound Navajo students than IMS in proportion to student population.

With the Navajos pulling out of the school and the per-pupil cost of education at IMS going up, the BIA put together an evaluation task force to study the possibilities of either closing the school or keeping it open in a different form. The task force published their final report in June, 1973. The report suggested closing out IMS as a secondary educational facility for Navajos. The task force also rejected the possibility of keeping the school open for students from other nations because reports from the various BIA Area Offices around the country showed that it would be difficult to fill the school to capacity even if a large recruiting drive was mounted to beat the bushes for any student they could find.

The report showed that other BIA boarding schools were facing similar problems and that several were in a state of change. For example, one former mid-western boarding school, Haskell, had been recently converted into an academically-oriented junior college, and the Pierre Boarding School in South Dakota was planning a conversion over to a special education facility for physically and emotionally-handicapped Indian students. In fact, one post-high school BIA vocational training center has had a problem in reaching capacity enrollment and there has been talk of recruiting non-Indians to fill up the space.



Not long after the report was completed, the school's allies once again came to Intermountain's defense. Last January, Utah Congressman Gunn McKay called a meeting of National Tribal Chairmen's Association and National Congress of American Indians officials to aid in keeping the school open. McKay charged then that the Navajo police had been physically prohibiting students from leaving the reservation for IMS and that the BIA Task Force had not had any Indian input.

The result of the meeting was that the BIA put together another all-Indian task force to re-evaluate the first evaluation report! This force began work at the school in late April, and spokespeople said a preliminary report on the school's future would be issued in June, and the completed evaluation would be ready before the 1974-75 school year began.

In the meantime, the future of IMS hangs in limbo, and according to Chiago, this has done little to bolster the morale of the staff, especially the Indian employees. He said that on a recent visit, he found that many of the Indian employees do not want the school closed down. But he said they are also very much aware of the problems at IMS and that puts them in a quandary.

For one thing, he said that the Indian staff members are reluctant to say much against the school because they fear it will be used as ammunition to do away with IMS. Second, he said that the Indian employees say they are hesitant to air problems at the school for fear of administration retaliation against them. The Indian staff members occupy the lower level positions at the school; they do not have the seniority or other job securities that the non-Indian staff members enjoy. Thus they fear the Indian employees will be the first to go in any kind of cutback.

The other fear among both the staff members and Indians throughout the country is that if IMS is closed as a high school, the extensive property and facilities will be lost from Indian use. Some charge that the Utah state government and congressional delegation have kept this fear alive as a means of keeping the school going at all costs so that Brigham City will not lose its biggest payroll.

They say this either/or attitude has been a hindrance in bringing up alternatives for the facilities. At the present time, IMS is not the only Indian program occupying the Brigham City facilities.

Officials say these programs would probably remain if the high school was closed. The problem seems to be finding a suitable alternative for the school facilities. Several suggestions have been made, including the conversion over to a vocational training center such as the BIA's Southwestern Indian Polytechnic Institute in Albuquerque, or another junior college such as Haskell. And some have suggested Intermountain as the site of a proposed all-Indian medical school.

While Thompson had announced the school would be "phased out", by July he had reversed himself and said that applications for enrollment would be accepted from members of all tribal groups. This proposal had been turned down by the initial task force, but recommended by the "study committee." Thompson said the all-tribal enrollment would be experimental for one year.

In order to get this enrollment, the BIA will scout out students not now in school, or in "public schools which are not adequately meeting their needs."

(Thanks to Steve Nickeson for his article in Race Relations Reporter for the bulk of the above article.)

GALLUP INDIAN CEREMONIAL: 'IT'S NOT LIKE IT USED TO BE.'

Gallup, New Mexico — Only about half the usual number of native participants showed up for the annual Gallup "Indian Ceremonial" this year as many dancers and singers stayed away in response to a call for boycott by native activists.

And those who did witness the event had to see through a screen of armed and helmeted police officers interspersed among the quiet crowd. The unprecedented security of the 53-year-old event was ordered because of weeks of tension caused by the slaying of native men and demonstrations to deal with racism in both Gallup and Farmington, 130 miles to the north.

"We just thought we ought to be ready," said McKinley County Sheriff Harold Bass of his small army of officers. Every 50 feet or so along either side of the parade route there was an officer towering above balloon-toting native children and their unsmiling parents.

Groups of officers clustered at selected points. At a service station, four police cruisers each containing four officers were parked with engines idling. The cruisers flanked a school bus in which 32 policemen baked in the 95-degree weather ready for action with shotguns, helmets, and riot batons within easy reach.

Leading the parade were three more police cruisers, shotguns readily visible through their windows as a not-so-subtle warning to anyone bent on disruption.

Apparently tourists must have their ritual events, even if an armed camp is needed so that the show can go on.

"It's not like it used to be," was the answer most people gave when asked their feeling about this year's event.



—Rocky Mountain News
Some of the participants for the ITIC

Native people have charged that the "ceremonial" is staged to benefit Anglo Gallup businessmen and to put Indians "on display".

To provide a counter-event, the Coalition for Navajo Liberation and the Indians Against Exploitation (IAE) held religious activities and a powwow "true to the Indian tradition" at Shiprock. A feast opened the N-daa week-long ceremony, with related social festivities including singing, dancing, and games.

The invitations to the event stressed that the gathering had the backing of the traditional leaders and medicine people of the area. No cameras were allowed, and no alcohol or drugs were permitted.



Since 1969, IAE has demonstrated at the ceremonial in an attempt to get both Indians and non-Indians to boycott what they say is a mockery of Indian culture. This year, they circulated a pamphlet headlined, "What would happen if Gallup gave a 'ceremonial' and no Indians came?"

The group charges that the 1972 Ceremonial brought Gallup businessmen a profit of about \$1.5-million. The Ceremonial itself lost \$36,000 which the State of New Mexico made up. Gallup businessmen apparently are not embarrassed by the commercial motives behind the event: "If we have dollar signs in front of our eyes, we should acknowledge it and not be ashamed of it," Gallup businessman Richard Wilson said in 1971.



—Americans Before Columbus
"Mommie, where are all the Injuns?"

Statements From Intermountain

(The following statements are excerpts from letters received by AKWESASNE NOTES in the past several months. They are from individual students and employees at Intermountain School.)

"Here at Intermtn School, members of Indian organizations are hated. What can you Indians out there do about it? Intermtn School is another Watergate. If Indians want the school, for heaven sake, let it be run by deep brown Indians. Every department head, supervisors, are whites, mostly Mormons..."

"Our white teachers tell us thank God AIM didn't take over this school. All I can say is she doesn't know Indians are taking over all the Indian schools if they can. We are supporting our AIM leaders. We pray for them every day and night. I myself don't believe education can be the tool to win over white. Some educated Indians don't know how to pray in Indian ways... Tell us — what is really going to happen to the Indians?"

"If different Indian tribes want this Intermountain School, let's clean it up first. Get all these money-hungry whites out. Otherwise it's best just to close the school. Brigham City got rich on Indian money. Everything I said is true so help me Great Spirit. If I sign my name I'll be killed for sure."

"I have been going to this school for six years now. School has been under many investigations. It seem like they never find anything wrong — everything is good. If you been around these BIA persons as I have, you will know when to sweep trash under rugs. They know bad things going on here. Awake, Indians! Nothing is going to change until Indians start taking over their own affairs."

"We don't tell Brigham City how to run its affairs. But these farmers in this area get

jobs here and tell us how to run our lives. They treat us like animals. When we miss classes they kick us around. If we have long hair, they talk to us that it makes us look bad and behave bad too. They tell us how good ROTC [Army training] is for long-hair Indians. Many students drink and sniff paints here. White social workers tell us what is good for us. If Indians stands up for Indian ways, they will be condemn right in front of everybody.

"The theme of Intermountain is gossip and hate your fellow-man. If you want to see action, come to visit Friday and Saturday nights and visit the jails in Intermountain Valley. This year three or four times students almost burn down dorms. Gang fights and attempts to rape. We heard Indian leaders here visiting the school. They didn't talk to us — they only saw the good picture. While they were visiting, one dorm student got out of hand sniffing paints and the night attendants couldn't control him for a while, but Indian leaders didn't know about it."

The Native Council of Canada needs an editor for their newspaper — someone with experience in journalism, layout, and photography. Contact: Executive Director, Native Council of Canada, 77 Metcalfe St. Suite 1010, Ottawa, Canada.

For special interests of special interest: a new magazine devoted to science fiction written by American Indians to be called **INDIAN SPACEMEN** will make its debut this summer. Contact: Craig Street, Four Points Intertribal Council, 140 Meyer Ave., Dayton, O.

Applications are now being accepted for admission to the Institute of American Indian Arts, a federally-funded school (BIA) open to all artistically-talented students of one-fourth or more Indian ancestry. A national school for Indian youths in grades 11 through 14, the high school division offers an accredited program emphasizing Indian traditions and cultures in all fields. In addition to a standard high school curriculum, the school has offerings in the history, literature, and folklore of the American Indian, linguistics, business education, costume design, etc. Art offerings in both the high school and college divisions are varied and expand constantly to meet student needs and interests. The art program includes instruction in painting, pottery, ceramic sculpture, design, traditional techniques, silver-smithing, modern and traditional dance, creative writing, commercial art, sculpture, graphics, communication, photography, and a/v media, with limited work in music. Mature students sincerely interested in art techniques should contact: Registrar, Institute of American Indian Arts, 1300 Cerrillos Road, Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501.

Native students interested in biomedical support research should contact Dr. Gordon Eggleston, Department of Physical Sciences, Southeastern State College, Durant, Oklahoma 74701. The college was awarded a special grant to award research traineeships, so that each student could select a project under the direction of faculty in order to develop qualifications for research in the areas of biology, chemistry, conservation and medical professions.

Alaska Legal Services Corporation, 524 W 6th Ave. Suite 204, Anchorage, Alaska 99501 (attention: Frank Flavin, Executive Director) is seeking a staff attorney to aid a team providing legal services in civil matters, mostly to Eskimos, Indians, or Aleuts in the Juneau office.

Rapid City, South Dakota, is looking for counselors, with funding under the Indian Education Act, to work with Indian students, their parents, staff members in improving educational opportunity. Apply immediately to: Charles C. Steward, Director of Personnel, Rapid City Public Schools, Rapid City, South Dakota 57701.

A Southern Ute Performing Group has been developed to use drama for summer productions to preserve tribal ways, attract tourists, and share experiences. A \$15,000 National Endowment for the Arts grant was obtained. Jack Gurian, on leave from the University of Hawaii, and who has helped develop community theater elsewhere, is director of the project. The plays will be presented 3 times weekly at the Pino Nuche Tourist and Community Center, 24 miles from Durango, Colorado.

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation is seeking radio broadcasters for Cree language programs, either in their own communities or in Montreal. Contact CBC Northern Service, POBox 6000, Montreal, Quebec H3C 3A8 or phone (514) 285-2700 collect. Applicants must be fluent in the Cree dialect spoken in the eastern James Bay region.

TIDBITS



The National Indian Activities Association is organizing athletic competition for native people to bring national recognition and stature to native people. So far, it has had a national basketball championship, boxing championships, and NIAA Rodeo Finals will be held in Spokane, Washington, October 15-19. Contact Ron Johnson, President, 10511 243rd Place SW, Edmonds, Washington 98020.

A project conference for IFCO will be held at the "cradle of the civil rights movement" at Letohatchee, Alabama, on October 2-4. There will be presentations on Puerto Rico and the American Indian Movement, and workshops on Criminal Justice, Community Consciousness, etc. Contact IFCO, 475 Riverside Dr., Room 560, New York, N.Y. 10027. IFCO is the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organizations.

A group is compiling a series of books about how-to-find funding for projects. It is seeking to locate places where projects have found money, so each can be contacted to detail their criteria and interests. If you know of places where funds might be available, contact: Dena Wright, Human Resources Network, 2010 Chancellor Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19103 or call (215) 567-8011.

Teaching positions are open at the Fort Totten High School, an all-native school on the Devils Lake Sioux Reservation. There are 195 students in grades 7 thru 12. Write: Carl McKay, President, Fort Totten School Board, POBox 257, Fort Totten, North Dakota 58335.

Poets & Writers, Inc., a publicly-supported non-profit organization in New York, is seeking applications from Indian writers for listings in the Directory of American Poets. Send resume and work samples to: Poets & Writers, Inc., 201 W 54 St., New York, N.Y. 10019, or telephone (212) PL7-1766.

The American Indian Studies Program at the University of Washington is seeking a new director. Academic rank and salary are completely open. Contact Spencer Moseley, Chairman, School of Art, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington 98195 immediately.

A lecturer in Native American Studies is sought, master's degree required, to teach about contemporary life of native America, Indian Education, etc. Write Dr. Charles F. Denton, Dean, School of Social Sciences, California State University, Fresno, California 93740.

College graduate in natural resources and able to work well with native American community: such a person is needed for a position with the University of Wisconsin Extension Service. Write Robert Deer, Dept. of Urban & Regional Planning, 1815 University Avenue, Room 312, Madison, Wisconsin 53706.

Manitou Community College is a college for native people located 110 miles north of Montreal, Quebec. It needs a teacher of business administration, psychology, mathematics, and physical education. Contact: Academic Director, MCC, POBox 129, LaMacaza, Quebec.

Humboldt State College, Arcata, California 95521, has a special program for native people within the School of Natural Resources. It is seeking a project coordinator for the program as well as students. The program works with fish and wildlife agencies and tribal councils. A tribal/cultural counselor is also needed in the project — well-designed to fill the crying need for native people skilled in management of tribal resources. Contact Bobby Lake at Humboldt, telephone (707) 826-4329.

Native American Program, University of Illinois, Chicago Circle Campus, Box 4348, Chicago, Illinois 60680, is seeking an academic advisor. Call (312) 996-4516 for information, or write above address. Needed immediately.

DQU, Box 409, Davis, California 95616 anticipates funding for 75 native students wanting to learn with individual attention on topics of real benefit to The People. Instructors also are needed — innovative and imaginative types welcomed.

Seattle Public Schools, 815 Fourth Ave., N., Seattle, Washington 98109, are seeking a program manager for the American Indian Heritage Program, to be responsible for administering the program. Also needed is a program manager for Indian Heritage High School, which has a hundred native American students. Teacher's certification required.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology wants "minority students" for its courses in Urban Studies and Planning, at both graduate and undergrad levels. Contact Lloyd Rodwin, Room 7-338, MIT, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139.

The Chowder Review is publishing a special issue entitled "Fry Bread: American Indian Notes." Manuscripts of poetry and short prose are welcomed. Write Professor Kenneth Fields, Department of English, Stanford University, Stanford, California 94305. This issue is being assembled by a group of Indian students.

A counsellor is sought for native students. Duties include orientation, seminars, events, tutoring, recruitment. Write: Department of Native Studies, Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario K9J 7B8 or call: (705) 748-1272.

Native writers interested in writing for two years in Canada or in South America are being sought by: Margaret Flory, Frontier Intern Program, Room 1126C, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027, or call (212) 870-2291.

The Sinte Gleska College Center at Rosebud, South Dakota, has an opening July 1 for a communications and curriculum specialist. Qualifications include preference for B.A. or M.A., but not as a substitute for experience in photography, printing, layout, sound recording and videotape. Sensitivity for and experience with American Indian culture required. Contact: Vice President Academic Affairs, Sinte Gleska College Center, Rosebud, South Dakota 57570.

Joe Oxendine, a Lumbee, is writing a book which will deal with the role of games and sports in traditional Indian culture, about contemporary Indian athletes, as well as sports figures of the past 75 years. He requests the aid of people involved in Indian media in assembling materials for the book. Contact: Joseph B. Oxendine, Chairman, Department of Health, Physical Education and Recreation, College of Education, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa. 19122.

A pretty good TV program on native people and churches was on ABC last October. If you want to see a transcript of what was said — or to ask that the telecast be repeated, write Sid Darion, Manager of Public Affairs, ABC-News, 7 West 66th St., New York, N.Y. 10023.

Ada E. Deer, chairperson of the Menominee Common Stock and Voting Trust, has been elected to a three-year term on the governing board of Common Cause, the national citizens' lobby.

Native Americans who could develop short and long-range programs aimed at promoting American Indian involvement in nuclear and related fields are wanted by the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission in Germantown, Maryland. Application forms are available from Philip R. Cook at Bechtel Power Corporation, POBox 9, Richland, Washington 99352.

Native youth interested in careers as dentists should get in touch with one of the few native dentists now in that profession: Thomas Tucker, University of Southern California School of Dentistry, 925 W. 34th St., Los Angeles, California 90007.

Booth space is for rent in the Indian Arts and Crafts Market located next to the Expo '74 site in Spokane. Artists and craftsmen can sell only native-made jewelry, paintings, crafts, etc. For more information write POBox 2135, Spokane Washington 99210 or call (509) 456-6686.

Marlon Brando has not forgotten about his pledge to help native peoples through the movie industry — he has been in Washington recently to discuss his ideas for a film on the Indian situation with Ralph Nader, who also has (in past years) given significant attention to native/government matters.

Webster Review is planning a special issue of its literary quarterly on Indian writings, poetry, etc. — and it is happening soon. Submissions are welcomed. Write: Webster Review, Webster College, Webster Groves, Missouri 63110.

The sixth annual Red Cloud Indian Art Show runs June 9 through August 11 at the Red Cloud Indian School. All works are for sale. Contact: Red Cloud Indian Art Show, Indian School, Pine Ridge, South Dakota 57770.

Thanks to Tahansa-Kola, whose mysterious gifts arrive throughout the year, leaving us feeling appreciated, and appreciating that thoughtfulness from an unknown friend.

A project director in Community Planning and Development is sought. Contact: W.J. Strickland, Director, Coalition of Eastern Native Americans, 927 15th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005 or call (202) 638-6727.

Struggle Over Havasupai Land Goes On

Washington, D.C. — The current struggle of the Havasupai People of the Grand Canyon to regain some 253,000 acres of their land is now in the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. Two members of Congress could block it there, moving the struggle in to other arenas.

The Havasupai first settled on the plateau south of the rim of the canyon about 700 A.D. Centuries later, drought compelled them to descent into the canyon during the summer to farm along Havasu Creek. This seasonal migration continued for six centuries. Then along came the conservationists, whose lobbying in Congress was more disastrous to them than any suffering imposed by natural calamities.

In 1919, an Act of Congress established the Grand Canyon National Park. Since 1882, the Havasupai had been assigned to a 518-acre reservation on the canyon floor, and the 1919 act sought to protect their rights to the 251,000 acres of plateau land. But the National Park Service ignored the intent of Congress and took to persecuting the Havasupai.

Under the terms of the 1917 Act creating the Grand Canyon National Park, the Havasupai have the right to follow their agricultural pursuits anywhere within the boundaries of the park. Or, in the words of one BIA official, the right "to grow a garden on the lawn of the Grand Canyon Hotel." These rights, however, have obviously not been honored.

Over the years, the National Park Service has evicted the Havasupai from their land on the South Rim, burned down their homes, and banished them 2,000 feet down into the canyon. The last home was reported burned in 1960.

In the summertime, the canyon floor is a beautiful place to live. Lots of tourists go to the NPS campground next to the reservation. But at other times, the cruel and hazardous environment combines with extreme poverty and over-crowding to make disease and early death common-place. Less than half of the reservation land is arable, so the people cannot raise enough food to be self-sufficient. Firewood is so scarce, each cottonwood tree is assigned to a family.

The cruelest fact of the Havasupai existence is that all children over ten years of age must spend 9 months 350 miles away from their families in a federal boarding school or white foster homes.

The Havasupais have no love for the National Park Service. "By 1928, the Park Service had driven our people from Indian Gardens," a tribal bulletin said. "In 1934, the Park Service destroyed and burned our traditional village two miles west of park headquarters." To live in the area now, Havasupais have to rent houses from the Park Service.



"In 1952," the statement continues, "the Park Service directed that all our people were to cease using park lands and began hauling them to Topocoba Hilltop in trucks. In 1953, the Park Service destroyed and burned the home of our chief, Big Jim, upon his death, even while his nephew retained the right to continue living at the site. In 1957, the Park Service purchased the lower falls of Havasu Creek from a private owner and drove us from this area."

Presently, 70 families live in 54 houses in Supai Village at canyon bottom, and the 325 people must compete

for about 200 acres of arable land. More than 100 other Havasupai people must live outside the village in outlying towns.

The First Real Hope in Decades

The Havasupais have been struggling for decades to get their land back. The first real hope came when Senator Barry Goldwater introduced "The Grand Canyon National Park Enlargement Act" [S1296] in March, 1973. While the basic purpose of the bill was to "further protect the outstanding scenic, natural, and scientific values of the Grand Canyon by enlarging" the national park, it also proposed restoring to the Havasupai Tribe 169,000 acres, some in the canyon, and some on the plateau.

Originally, the Goldwater bill would have enlarged the Havasupai holdings by just 145,000 acres. However, this provision was amended in committee and a study of the land transfer was ordered. The Havasupai cannot understand the need for a study — they point to earlier studies which conclude that the tribe should be given the land in trust.



—Not Man Apart photo
Summer's Beauty is Winter's Confinement

"Another study would only repeat these earlier findings," the tribal council has said. "We find intolerable the notion that our future should be sacrificed on our own homeland for the weekend pleasures of occasional hikers. We oppose the proposal that we wait and be re-studied while our presently-used lands be given over to the use of others."

There should be no need for studies of the Havasupai case — studies have been going on now for 65 years while the Havasupai have been appealing to the United States for justice. Granted, some of the appeals have been short — last November in the hearings on the Goldwater bill, the Havasupai were granted only ten minutes to present their side of the issue. But the matter seems simple and clear: the Havasupai people, once the sole owners of the land, have been swept from atop the South Rim of the Canyon and confined in the bottom of the Havasu Canyon, an unhealthy place except in summer.

When the bill got to the House, however, amendments gave the Havasupais only usage rights to 100,000 acres, closely supervised by the Secretaries of Interior and Agriculture. There was no guarantee that the usage rights would continue for any designated time.

Support for the Havasupais has come from both Republicans and Democrats. U.S. President Richard Nixon, while on a speaking engagement in Phoenix, Arizona, May 3, announced his support for Steiger's amendment enlarging the native land base, and Senator Edward M. Kennedy added his voice "in behalf of justice" and urged speedy passage by Congress. Other backing has come from AFL/CIO, League of Women Voters, the Arizona chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union, and the National Council of Churches.

Just prior to the Nixon announcement of support, a National Park Service memo signed by the NPS director, addressed to an assistant secretary of Interior, was leaked to the Congress. That memo suggested that if Congress would give the Havasupais their land, other Indians would bring a "whole shopping list" of grievances to Congress.

Cynics say that Nixon went great lengths to keep the support of Senator Goldwater, whose influence within the Republican Party was then regarded as crucial to the President's political survival. Thus his stand to give the Havasupais even more land than Goldwater had dared to ask for, they say.

Rep. Morris Udall, an Arizona Democrat, had indicated earlier this year his opposition to the Havasupai cause. However, after he was invited to visit the present tiny Havasupai reservation at the bottom of the canyon, he said he would at least reconsider his objection.

On July 31, 1974, the House Interior Committee adopted the compromise amendment giving trust title to 185,000 of federal lands to the Havasupai, overriding the advice of committee chairman Roy Taylor.

91,500 acres will come from the National Park, and 94,000 from the Kaibab National Forest. However, because of a lack of quorum in later discussions of other amendments, the bill was not reported out of committee, and will have to be reconsidered.

Environmentalists: Who Do They Speak For?

Another congressman who has been an obstacle to the proposal to return the land has been Roy A. Taylor, a North Carolina Democrat whose eleventh district includes the Cherokee Reservation in western North Carolina. Taylor is chairman of the subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation. He said he wanted the Havasupais to work out a compromise with Interior Department people and conservationist groups.

The Interior Department has said that it now agrees with the Havasupai claim. But no compromise is possible with a local conservationist, John McComb, who says he represents the Sierra Club. McComb said he was opposed to any transfer of jurisdiction for park land, and that he would "rather have no legislation at all than one which has a massive land transfer." The legislation under consideration would increase the size of the Grand Canyon National Park by some 350,000 acres, in addition to the restoration of land to the Havasupais.

McComb says that he is afraid that return of the Havasupai land would set a precedent and that other native groups would also seek National Park lands. He adds that he is concerned that the Havasupais do not have the financial capabilities to improve sewage facilities on the land, and do not have the capability for land management.

The Havasupais would only get problems with the land, McComb believes. "This is not going to benefit the tribe," he says paternalistically. "The lands are not well-suited to grazing or any agricultural use. There is virtually no water and an overabundance of very poor soil. The problems would remain. Just managing the land alone is a real burden."

Although McComb claims to speak on behalf of the Sierra Club, other chapters, including the Grand Canyon chapter, have expressed support of the Havasupai position.

Joe Sparks, an attorney for the Havasupais, says there is no question about "legal precedent" being set. "Our position is that the aboriginal title has never been extinguished— [Congress] has never acted on the Havasupai claims," he said. Recognition of aboriginal title was made by the Secretary of the Interior Department on May 28, 1972.

The decision of Sierra Club people representing Prescott, Phoenix, and Tucson groups of the club came after a special trip to the canyon December 29. Flagstaff had already agreed to support the land return. They left satisfied that the plateau lands would be managed by the Havasupai with care. They heard the suggestion that the entire Grand Canyon Park would be better managed if it were entirely staffed by Havasupai, from the superintendent on down. This would guarantee the Park a staff committed to it, since the staff would be life-long residents of the park, people who really care about it. It was said that this plan should be good for all National Parks where Indians still live.

Councilwoman Issa Uqualla told the Sierra Club members that she had hated them for their opposition, but now she saw they were human and had just not understood. She felt that they understood each other better now, and really felt the same way about things. One Sierra Club member, Joanne McIver, told the Havasupai councilmember the Sierra Club had been working to protect the earth since 1892.



—Association on American Indian Affairs
Havasupai Youngsters: No Space to Live

On May 4, though, the national board of directors of the Sierra Club met in Claremont, California, and revealed anew its ingrown antagonism toward native peoples. At odds with much of its own membership, the national officers remained adamant that no land — not a single acre — should be returned from National Park or Monument or Forest status to the Havasupai. The Club is even against the restoration of the one 8-mile-long trail down the 2400-foot steep canyon walls — the one trail that man and horse can negotiate into and out of the Havasupai Village.

Commenting on the Sierra Club stand in the Senate on May 20, Barry Goldwater said, "I cannot understand

the persistent and unmovable resistance of the Sierra Club to the needs of [the Havasupai]. I cannot comprehend the vast ignorance and fundamental lack of understanding of the history and culture of the Havasupai which characterize a majority of the national leaders of the Sierra Club. The only explanation, in my opinion, is that the Sierra Club has become a closed society, a self-centered, selfish group, who care for nothing but ideas which they themselves originate and which fit only their personal conceptions of the way of life everyone else should be compelled to live."

Goldwater accused the Sierra Club hierarchy of pulling a power play. Some ranking members, such as Alvin Josephy, a senior editor of *American Heritage* have disavowed the Sierra Club stance and have been active in supporting the Havasupais.

Opposition to the Havasupais have come from a variety of sources. One lobbyist, Jeff Ingram, admits he has never been to the present Havasupai reservation. He has called those who favor the land return "Indian lovers." Then there is Joel Rodack, who says his heart "bleeds for Indians" but they cannot expect to have the country back. He feels that the Havasupai should even abandon their present land base so the Havasu Canyon would not "become spoiled."

Other opposition has come from the National Wildlife Federation and Friends of the Earth. The latter group sponsored a series of full-page advertisements alleging that "opportunists" are using "Indians as a ploy." The aid said the Havasupai already receive "substantial revenue from tourists" and suggests that the Havasupai be given instead land elsewhere which would be "far more useful."

The group paid for a one-page ad in the expensive *New York Times* claiming the Havasupais really don't want the land, but are being "used" "How often have Indians been finessed into playing such an unhappy role!" the paper pleads. As for FOE, it claims to be pro-Indian, and says it supports acquisition of other land for the Havasupai, land that is not "hostile". The Indians could even be given a chance to teach visitors about the Grand Canyon, FOE says. The ad is signed by David Brower, president of the organization.

An editorial in the *New York Times* complimented the ad, saying that "national parks and national forests are inviolable; they are held in trust for all Americans, including Indians." It claimed the return to the Havasupais would create a "disastrous precedent" and "the prospect for expensive lawsuits and political wrangling [by Indians] is endless."



The current issue of the FOE newspaper, *Not Man Apart* claims that "exploiters are back again, this time counting on the public's sympathy for Indians to bring them victory. They propose to carve 251,000 acres out of Grand Canyon National Park and adjacent Kaiba National Forest and give it to the Havasupais, a tiny tribe that lives very well as it is in the 'Shangri-la of the West.'" The idea that the land doesn't belong to anyone to give, but is, in fact, the Havasupais, is apparently beyond the grasp of the FOE people, who otherwise have done much to prevent the destruction of the earth and our life supporters.

The "environmentalists" seem to be able to muster up all the political support they need when it comes to such pet projects as the Grand Canyon National Park and when the opponent is small and insignificant in numbers as are the Havasupai. It is surprising that with so much political clout available to them that the "environment" is in such bad shape.

Support of native people to the Havasupai has been impressive. Resolutions in favor have come from the National Tribal Chairmen's Association, the National Congress of American Indians, Small Tribes of Western Washington, the United Sioux, the United South-eastern Tribes, the All-Indian Pueblo Council, the Great Lakes Intertribal Council, the Montana Intertribal Council, the Intertribal Council of California, the Blackfeet, Cherokee, and Zuni.

One argument used by the environmentalists is that the Havasupai have been paid for the land. It is true that some years ago, a \$1.2-million claims settlement was approved after a ruling that the land of the Havasupais had been taken from them illegally. At the time of payment, however, claims lawyer Royal Marks had told the people before their vote to accept the settlement that accepting the money would not affect their right to regain the land through Congressional action. The Havasupai Tribal Council has repeatedly stated its determination to return the part of the claims money pertaining to that land, money which they have carefully set aside for that purpose.

The Tribal Council, in its proposal to Congress, also stipulated that within one year of return of the lands, it would implement a comprehensive land-use plan in close consultation with the Secretary of Interior, and shall be subject to the approval of the Secretary," but apparently this safeguard — plus the Havasupai thousand-year-old record of non-exploitation, is not sufficient for the environmentalists.



Telegrams or letters of support should be sent to your own congressman, with a copy to Morris K. Udall, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. 20515.

(Thanks to the Nation for its April 20 editorial, and to the Arizona Republic for part of the information used here.)

GETTING A NEW LEASE ON LIFE

(This is a portion of an editorial which appeared in the Wall Street Journal on June 4, 1974.)

... Tribal spokesmen claim that officials of the multiple federal agencies claiming jurisdiction over tribal land seem to care more about the weekend pleasures of occasional hikers than about the Indians' future. That is a harsh indictment, yet the record tends to bear it out: over the years, the Havasupai have been prohibited from growing crops outside Havasu Canyon, from killing game in the forest preserve, and even from traveling across parts of their aboriginal land.

If the bill Mr. Nixon proposes is enacted into law, those past violations will be only a bad memory. And the Havasupai, the "people of the blue-green waters" who several times have seemed on the verge of extinction, would in effect be given a new lease on life.

WHAT SIMPLE JUSTICE DEMANDS

(This editorial is part of a longer one appearing in the Los Angeles Times on June 9, 1974.)

In legislation now pending, Congress has an opportunity to right an ancient [?] wrong committed against the little-known, tiny band of helpless Havasupai Indians now condemned to live in stark isolation and poverty at the bottom of the Grand Canyon in Arizona.

What the Havasupai want, and what simple justice demands they be given, is trust title to 251,000 acres of land on the surrounding plateau. They now have limited use of this land, but only at the sufferance of government agencies and under annually renewable permits.



Legislation to honor their claim was first proposed in 1908. A delay of 66 years is enough. It is time for Congress, as representatives of the American People, to treat the Havasupai, numbering only 425 persons, as human beings.

REVERSING THE WHITE MAN'S RECORD

(This editorial is part of a longer one appearing in the Christian Science Monitor.)

On the surface, the case of the Havasupai Indians in Arizona presents a contest between two good principles. The tribe, now herded into a meager, almost inaccessible 500 or so acres at the bottom of the Grand Canyon, want Congress to put in trust for them some 251,000 acres of Canyon plateau — land long used by the Indians for dwelling and cropland, but now closed to them except for pasture.

... Competing with the claims of the Havasupai is a drive to enlarge Grand Canyon National Park, incorporating the land the Indians want put in trust for them. Enlarging the park fits in with the long-range desires of conservationists, who want to preserve land from private development generally and ensure federal control of remote or wilderness areas.



Thus the issue before Congress — and specifically the House Interior Committee — is whether settling the long-standing Havasupai land claim should take precedence over expansion of the park.

We think it should. As a practical matter, given the tribe's small numbers and the simplicity of their life-style, it is hard to see how putting the acreage into trust for the Havasupai would pose any land-use risk.

Wilderness or parkland for hiking or for the continuation of natural animal and plantlife patterns is a good thing to preserve.

But our Indian tribes — or such as remains of them — are part of the American heritage too.

The House may well decide on a compromise that would include putting land in trust for the Havasupai, though at a smaller acreage.

But the full acreage requested would not be too much. It is still a small acreage, in one of the remotest parts of the continent. Putting the 251,000 acres in trust for the Havasupai would be a start toward reversing the white man's long record of driving the Indians out of their lands, failing to settle claims, and compounding the human injustice with bureaucratic confusion and callousness.

A QUESTION OF LAND USE AND SURVIVAL

(This editorial is part of one appearing in *The Washington Post* in May, 1974)

The fear [that the tribe may exploit the land in some unforeseen way] appears to be unfounded. The Havasupais are a people whose culture and livelihood are based on sound land use, not exploitation. If such a worry exists, it is possible to put environmental sanctions into the bill — the Havasupais themselves would welcome them.

Essentially, the question is one of both land use and survival. At a time when a moderately-enlightened land use bill couldn't get through Congress, it is a little odd to be hedging about a comparatively small number of acres being given over to Indians. As for the survival of the tribe, it appears only just that this small tribe of American Indians be allowed a chance to survive on its fair share of land. Injustices have been inflicted on the Havasupais in the past, and enough exist now in the form of poverty and disease. The tribe believes some of its suffering may be eased through the acquisition of more land; it ought to be given the chance to work out its destiny in this way.

KEYSTONE COPS INVADE GRAND CANYON TO HALT THE REVOLUTION

Supai, Arizona — BIA bureaucrats must be having a case of bad nerves these days.

On the basis of a rumor that some Indian activists might visit the Havasupai Reservation down in the Grand Canyon, BIA area director John Artichoker flew two BIA law enforcement officers from Phoenix — complete with riot equipment — into the canyon September 20th.



Tribal officials were taken aback — they had requested no reinforcements. Chairman Oscar Paya spoke to the two officers, and had them put their weapons and riot helmets in the tribal courtroom so that they did not hurt anyone or rile up the people.

Apparently disappointed that there was no action, the two men hung around a few hours, and then asked the BIA to send a helicopter in to pull them out.

The frontier just isn't like it used to be.

SOCIAL GENOCIDE

SOMEONE ELSE IS CARING FOR OUR CHILDREN — "ABUSIVE PRACTICES"

Washington, D.C. — One Indian child out of four will spend a major part of their childhood in foster homes, adoptive homes, or institutions.

That was one of the statistics emerging from Senate Indian Affairs Subcommittee hearings held in April to document what committee chairman Senator James Abourezk called "abusive child removal practices which are destroying Indian families."

Lead-off witness William Byler, executive director of the Association on American Indian Affairs, stated that based on his organization's surveys, in Minnesota the rate of adoption of Indian children per capita is five times greater than that of non-Indians; in South Dakota, the foster care rate is nearly 16 times greater per capita. In Washington State, the adoption rate is 19 times greater; in Michigan, the adoption rate is 16 times greater.

A number of Indian parents before the subcommittee recited a litany of abuses they and their children had suffered at the hands of state and county welfare workers eager to remove the children from what the welfare agencies deem an environment of "neglect" or "social deprivation."

Margaret Townsend, a Paiute of Fallon, Nevada, described how her children were forcibly taken from her home without her consent and placed in foster care by county welfare workers after she had been arrested — for the first time in her life — for driving while intoxicated. With the aid of an AAIA attorney, Mrs. Townsend was finally able to get a court order to release her children from county custody.

Her daughter, Anna, was also a witness. She was planning to describe to the subcommittee the treatment she and her brother had in their foster home. Instead, after a brave start, she broke down and cried, a testimony more effective than her words could have been.

The effects of unwarranted removals and placements with non-Indians are psychologically disastrous for both parents and children, according to Gov. Robert E. Lewis, president of the National Tribal Chairmen's Association. "Children who must adjust to a new way of life away from their own cultural group often must overcome a language barrier, adjust to a new religion, learn new foods, and are often faced with overt and covert racism."

The causes of this current type of "Indian removal" were described by witnesses as a lack of standards for what constitutes mistreatment that is relevant to Indian culture; failure of social workers and courts to follow due process of law when it comes to Indians; and the social conditions under which Indian families must live, including low income, poor health, sub-standard housing — all making Indian children prime targets for removal.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs also came under fire at the hearings for its role — or lack of a role — in this problem area. A witness charged that the BIA spends over \$1-million in Minnesota to provide for foster care payments annually. However, since the children are taken into care under state law, the state should be picking up the bill, some authorities say.

Recommendations for reform included repeal of Public Law 280, so affected tribes will have more control over what happens to their children, revision of standards governing child welfare issues to conform to Indian cultural life, and strengthening of due process to protect parents faced with losing their children.

Abourezk said he had called the two-day hearings because of chronic native complaints that officials take advantage of parental lack of legal knowledge.

"They [the officials] convince these mothers and fathers that they have no choice but to give up their children, despite a lack of evidence of neglect," Abourezk said. "There is some feeling that this situation amounts to another attempt to solve the 'Indian Problem' by changing Indian children into white children."

Indian foster home placements in white homes is "big business in Minnesota," William Blackwell of Duluth, Minnesota, told the subcommittee.

Often, Blackwell said, Indian youth cannot relate to white foster parents and their values. They then build up a resentment often manifested in breaking the law, leading to juvenile courts. "This involvement only gives the courts and welfare the excuse to continue foster care," he said.

Blackwell represented the Indian Youth Program of Duluth, which conducted a week of public hearings on the native child-care situation before they went to Washington to testify. The agency recommended that an Indian Child Care program be started in Minnesota to handle all Indian child matters. They called, too, for an investigation of all juvenile institutions to see how institutional philosophy and programs relate to the way native children should be raised.

Despite the massive nature of the problem, the BIA has no special program to cope with the situation, and no special staff of experts in the field. On the reservations, the caseload of social workers is reported to be so heavy that they are able to do little more than process welfare payments.

One of the first moves to assert sovereignty came from the Devils Lake Sioux in North Dakota. In 1968, the tribal council adopted a resolution forbidding social workers from taking children off the reservation. In retaliation, the Benson County Welfare Department cut off BIA welfare payments to persons of native origin living off the reservation. A tribal delegation went to Washington and finally convinced a reluctant BIA to make payments for food directly to families without going through the county.

The Devils Lake resolution still stands, and to help enforce it, the tribe designed and now operates a live-in Family Development Center which provides home counseling services throughout the reservation.

One of the reasons Indian children are so much in jeopardy when it comes to adoption by non-Indians is that the number of white children available for adoption keeps getting smaller every year. Parents wanting a baby have to wait a long time — unless, of course, they are willing to take an Indian child. Sometimes, parents will accept an Indian child in order to have any child at all, although that is not their true preference.

The Association on American Indian Affairs has been trying to deal with the adoptions situation, but it has had difficulty in getting the data concerning the number of children placed each year. The BIA refused to release the statistics until the AAIA threatened to sue them under the Freedom of Information Act.

AAIA publishes a quarterly bulletin about child welfare problems, entitled *Indian Family Defense*. It is available from the organization without charge by writing AAIA, 432 Park Ave. S., New York, N.Y. 10016.

(Thanks to American Indian Press Association, Associated Press, and to Indian Viewpoint for this information.)



Lavina, 12, is Ojibway. She is in good general health, but she has a mild cerebral palsy which affects her walking somewhat. She enjoys all kinds of outdoor activities, rides a bicycle, and is a good swimmer. School has posed some problems, although she hopes to be in grade 6 next fall. She enjoys handwork, making her own clothes, and she gets along well with smaller children. She needs parents who can fill her great need for love and acceptance. To enquire about adopting Lavina, please write to Helen Allen, Box 888, Station K, Toronto, Ontario M4P 2H2.

"I WANT TO KNOW WHO I AM"



(One children's agency which has had real insight into the problems of native children requiring care outside of their own homes is Browndale International. This article is excerpted from its quarterly journal, *Involvement*. It is by John Brown, whose innovative and human ideas on child welfare are creating change in child welfare practices. Copies of *Involvement* dealing with Indian child care are available postpaid from AKWESASNE NOTES for \$1.25.)



We treat children who come with poor identities and distorted self images, without pride, belief, or hope in themselves. They are not part of the world around them — they are alienated from it. They are alienated from themselves. They are lost. They are lonely. They are hurt and cannot find a way out.

We create an environment within the family model of human love, intimacy, care, and respect. We deny them their negative self-impressions. We show them in our actions that they are lovable, they are valuable, and they are wanted.

We have found over the years that when we have done this with Indian children, they soon seek to find their historical, cultural, and family roots, and that for the most part, these are lacking or not readily available for us to direct the child to. There is no group in our land so deprived of history and of ties to their origins as the Indians. I know this is changing, but it is still very bad for any Indian child who says: "I want to know who I am, what I came from, and how I came to be where I am."

As the founder of Browndale, I would like to see our efforts joined with Indians wherever we have Indian children sent to us, to see if we can develop a more meaningful and relevant Red program. A program which not only helps the Indian child to have pride in himself, a strong self-image, and a recognition of his value as a human, but also helps us to then direct the child to find out for himself about his background so that he can take part in the important movement emerging: a movement toward a demand that the Indian stand proud and free and find his own solution and his own relationships to people, to societies, and to the world around him.

We have developed a way to work with the human child, whatever his origin. We are finding that this is not enough if we are to rehabilitate the child to a meaningful life existence. He must first belong to himself and to others with whom he can identify with pride, before he can be a strong partner in human brotherhood.

The Indian child needs his family, his people, his proud and meaningful history. We cannot give him this. We can and will help him have this. For the Indian child who comes to us, his despair is deep. He knows little to help him feel pride. We know little to help

him feel pride and what we know seems only to help him feel rightful anger about what is happening to him in his life.

He needs a militant Indian organization to take him and his anger and put it to use.



—Involvement
Our Sons . . . Who Cares for Them?



Good Intentions Not Enough!

Washington, D.C. — White couples who adopt children of other races are often blind to the racism the children will eventually face in schools and elsewhere, a study on mixed race adoption concludes.

The authors of the study, Thomas E. Nutt of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and John A. Snyder of Michigan State University, studied 564 adoptions of minority children by whites. They said that most adopting white parents relied on "good intentions of individuals" in all matters. They also tend to see institutions, such as schools and government, as neutral and incapable of good or evil.

Most of the parents live in predominately-white suburbs. Their adoptive children are either singled out as slow learners, or expected to perform better than any one else. The parents then appeal to the "good intentions of the teachers" only to be rebuffed by the schools where racism has been institutionalized.

Most of the parents have a common belief that their own good intentions and actions will help correct what they see as social ills. They are disinclined to challenge institutions such as government, and corporations, which is how they got to be successful, middle-class solid citizens who would be approved to adopt children of other races.

The white couples are, the study concludes, naive about the experience of minorities in American society.

(Thanks to Susan Fogg of the Newhouse News Service for this information.)

PRAIRIE NATIVE GROUPS TRY TO KEEP CHILDREN WITH THEIR PEOPLE

Saskatoon, Saskatchewan — The recently-elected New Democratic Government social services minister, Alex Taylor, has taken active measures to locate native foster homes. He said that in the province, some 39% of children placed through adoption were of native ancestry.



"Because we believe that children in need of care should live in homes as close to their cultural heritage as possible, an attempt has been made to place native children with native families," Taylor said in an open letter published in the native press. He said adoptive homes for older children were very much needed.

55% of the children in care of the province are of native origin — and only one in four is likely to have a permanent adoption placement. The rest will be in a foster home — usually a lot of them. Over two hundred children are awaiting adoption at this time.

The Prince Albert District Chief's Council recently expressed concern about the possible detrimental effects of boarding homes — usually for the school year — for native children. They asked the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural College to undertake a study to see what happens to native children in white boarding homes.

2,800 Native Children in Care: Alberta

In Alberta, out of 5600 children in care, some 2800 are native youngsters. The provincial authorities claim they do not have a sufficient number of native homes to cope with that quantity of children, despite a series of workshops in seven rural areas trying to get more native families offering their services for foster care. The workshops were co-sponsored by the Voice of Alberta Native Women's Society.

Another Alberta program was started last year by Edward Courtoreille of Canyon Creek. He wanted to take young native boys with him on the trapline, teaching them how to live and survive. His objective was to reach particularly youth who had social problems from city life, including those in conflict with the law. Courtoreille, with six children of his own, applied for a modest grant of \$1325 to grubstake the trapline. Not all social programs need to be expensive, it seems.

ADOPTION

THE RIGHT OF OUR CHILDREN TO THEIR PEOPLE AND THE RIGHT OF OUR PEOPLE TO OUR CHILDREN

"Adoption" has existed since life was created — it occurred as a result of friendship, preference, esteem. It always happened by choice. And within the societies of natural peoples, there are extended families or clans, so that a child who loses both parents is still not an orphan, and neglect seemed impossible.

To take another person's son or daughter because of a temporary breakdown in a family, or to deprive a child of his own people without complete social investigation is child stealing. The genocide which took place in North America of native peoples, the imposition of an alien and destructive culture, and the oppression existing in native communities today has caused massive social disorganization in those communities. There is no denying the breakdown in families, and the need for deep concern for the well-being of native children. But for the same European societies which perpetrated the genocide, imposed their culture, and now oppress native people in the name of religion and progress — for those same societies to take away the children of native nations and place them in European homes selected on standards of material gain and "opportunity" is a gross hypocrisy as well as a crime against humanity.

Coyote, a Ylaki from the Pacific Redwoods, and a member of the AKWESASNE NOTES staff, attended the Fourth North American Conference on Adoptable Children in Washington, D.C., to present this resolution. People can help implement the resolution by calling it to the attention of boards of local social agencies, asking that they adopt it as agency policy.



European governments operating on North American soil have established "Bureaus of Indian Affairs" to see to the well-being, health, and education of native peoples. If they had done their job well, there would be no problem today over the adoption of native children. The fact that there is a crisis in child welfare in native communities is an indictment of those governments — and yet it is those same agencies which propose further "help" by placing native children in non-native homes — or in homes of native heritage, but separate from their peoples.

A basic tenet of native society is a concern for their children, and for the generations yet unborn. As traditional beliefs gave way under the pressure of imposed alien values, this concern was weakened. Yet among those who still hold to traditional ways, there is a deep and growing concern about the continuing loss of our children through legally-sanctioned "welfare" programs and agencies. If they are truly concerned and wish to be helpful, we suggest the following ideals. Failure to establish these ideals as priorities can only be interpreted as a further example of European arrogance — after all, whose children are we concerned with? Our own — and for them, we want the best.

We challenge all agencies to work WITH native communities to strengthen families who are having difficulty in caring for their children. If, as a last resource, alternative plans for the children are necessary, we challenge agencies to work WITH native communities (especially relatives) to find foster home and adoptive home placements. Many standards and ideas of confidentiality are perhaps necessary in Anglo society, but are meaningless in a non-Western-type native culture. If, for some reason, a community cannot provide plans for the children, then we challenge the agencies to work WITH native peoples throughout North America to provide a plan for the children. And, if somehow, this doesn't work, then native people will request Anglo agencies to find good people — of any nationality and race — to care for their young ones. We challenge any agency who must select this last resource to be prepared to certify that all the other steps were followed diligently and with full use of that agency's resources.

For those children of our people who have already been placed in Anglo homes, we hope that they are with loving parents, and we do not wish to disturb them. Instead, we offer our help to see that in addition to having these loving parents, our children also have their people. Perhaps we can find native grandparents to see that our children participate in their culture and that they do not lose sight of their people. Sooner or later, our children discover and understand their place in North America as a part of this land — we do not want them to discover that they have been betrayed at the same time.

We urge agencies to reverse the damage which has already been done, by educating their clients and public that "interracial" adoptions, while once believed to be a thoughtful reaction, are to be discouraged, and that a pledge has been made to instead strengthen native people's rights to a future.

(This manifesto was adopted as a resolution by the Fourth North American Conference on Adoptable Children held in Washington, D.C., March 14-17, 1974. It was submitted by Coyote and Raosennawane, delegates for AKWESASNE NOTES.)

POTAWATOMIS ASSERT JURISDICTION OVER CHILDREN; WIN LANDMARK DECISION

Hannahville, Michigan — Potawatomis of the reservation in the Upper Peninsula near here have won a landmark decision in U.S. District Court in Marquette which could turn out to have national significance.

The suit, filed against the Michigan Department of Social Services, concerned the removal from tribal jurisdiction of three Potawatomi children who were sent by the department to Florida for adoption by distant non-Indian relatives.

The children involved, LeRoy Jr., Veronica, and Tyrone Wandahsega, are enrolled members of the tribe. Their father, a Potawatomi, married a non-Indian. Both parents are now deceased. After the deaths, the children were placed in foster homes, and custody was given in probate court to the state.

Upon receiving custody of the children, social workers sent them to Florida for adoption by cousins of the mother, reportedly because officials believed the reservation was an unfit place to raise children.

The federal suit said that the Potawatomis had exclusive jurisdiction over matters involving a native tribe and individual native children, and that only a U.S. District Court action could remove the children. The suit noted that Michigan had never assumed jurisdiction over civil cases involving reservation Indians.

U.S. District Court Judge Albert Engel ruled that the Potawatomi had the clear legal jurisdiction of its enrolled children, and upheld their right to set up their own court system and juvenile adoption procedures.



CHALLENGE THE CYCLE OF ADOPTION

Victoria, British Columbia — A lawyer for the natural parents of a six-year-old native boy living with non-native adoptive parents says he will appeal directly to the Supreme Court of Canada for an order to return the child. Recently, the British Columbia Court of Appeal ruled that Indian children could be adopted by non-Indians.

Over a hundred native children now are involved in adoption proceedings in British Columbia, all to non-Indian parents. While the lower court case was being heard, Norman Levi, minister of human resources, ordered a halt to adoption of Indian children by non-Indian parents pending the legal clarification.

Apparently the appeals court only considered the matter of whether the child would lose any legal rights in a cross-cultural adoption. He found that under the Indian Act of Canada, an adopted child still retains status in his band. However, since most adoptions are protected by confidentiality, and since there is no law compelling parents to disclose information to their child, a child could grow up unaware he has any rights under the Indian Act law.

Philip Paul, research director for the Union of BC Indian Chiefs, recommended that the province adopt a policy that the federal government, the adoptive parents, and the Indian band be provided with all information as to the adopted child's status, that the child be informed himself at the age of 21, and that there be a preference to placing Indian children in Indian homes. Levi said the recommendations would be considered in a series of Royal Commission hearings on the whole question of adoptions.

Some British Columbia newspapers had indignant editorials condemning native groups for being concerned about the loss of their children through adoption. "The classical arguments about loss of cultural identity, when it comes to adoption, have as much ethnic integrity as mass-produced souvenir totems," *The New Westminster Columbian* charged. "There is nothing culturally magnificent about the fate of Indian babies who stay with their families — they have a 46.3% death rate in the first year of life," a fact that is true, but which is an indictment of the whole situation of



This is Justin age 2½, and he needs a home. Already he has been moved from one foster home to another, and then another. He is one of many. His present guardian: the Catholic Family and Children's Service, Vancouver, British Columbia. That agency will place him with an Indian family — if one applies for him.

native peoples in the province. Cultural identity, is, after all, a luxury," the paper added. "Cultural minorities who do not adjust economically are edged off the map — history does not record any culture so generous that it perpetually subsidizes a minority so they can gaze at their ethnic navels."

A conference of provincial and native officials discussed the situation — native people told about how the cycle of adoptions works. Because native people have no control over their destiny on reservations, maintaining a family is difficult. So people go to the cities where social and employment problems arise. Often parents start drinking, or become apathetic and discouraged — then they stop caring for their children. Social service people step in and children go into foster care. Naturally, most of the foster homes available to an agency are white homes.

Often relatives are available to care for the children, but they cannot get financial support because the children are related to them. However, the agencies have to pay the white foster parents for the children, often adding on an additional subsidy because the children are Indian and are "hard to manage."

Delia Joe, a craftswoman, told the conference she is fostering three children for relatives — but only one is supported as a foster child. For help to support the

other two, she has to petition the Saanich welfare office — she was once warned that if she didn't stop asking them for assistance, the children would be taken away from her. She now gets \$60 a month from the welfare office for the support of the two children.

Dennis Alphonse, executive director of the Victoria Native Friendship Centre, said that in addition to correction of situations like these, more work must be done within the native community to prevent family and cultural breakdown. There again, while there is ample money for the administrative costs to care for children after breakdown has occurred, there is little available for preventative services.

Rose Charlie, president of the B.C. Indian Homemakers Association, said that her group wants receiving homes and group homes on the reserves. She said there are sufficient Indian parents for Indian children needing care, but reserve housing problems can mean a home is not always available.

The Homemakers also demanded that social agencies pay the same rate to Indian parents — whether they are related to the child or not — as they do to non-Indian foster parents. They asked too that band councils be given authority to make placements.

Another Way They Take Our Children

(This article is excerpted from one which appeared in the *Humboldt Christian Report*, a mission newspaper, January 26, 1973.)

(Thirteen Navajo children arrived at Calvary Temple on September 1, 1972, to spend the school year in various homes of members and friends of Calvary Temple. The project began when Rev. and Mrs. Suit, missionaries on the Kayenta Indian Reservation, Arizona, wrote Rev. Humbard requesting homes to open for several Indian children for the duration of the school year. Rev. Humbard presented the need before the congregation the following Sunday morning and several families enthusiastically accepted the challenge of caring for an Indian boy or girl . . .)

This week we would like to introduce Danny Cody, a fourteen year old Navajo boy. Danny has been a real blessing from the start, and Gertrude and I took a liking to him shortly after we met and he was placed in our home. Of course, our way of life was a little strange at first, very different from life in Arizona, but Danny adjusted quickly to the new routing of life here in Ohio.

. . . At home, Danny is very courteous and polite. He takes part in our morning prayer meeting and Bible study daily, and is learning the Scriptures and the Ten Commandments. . .

It was during a home slide showing of Holy Land films that I felt prompted of the Holy Spirit to deal with Danny about salvation. We had come to the slide of the inside of the Garden Tomb, where Christ had arisen. Danny said he wanted to go to heaven, be saved, and live for the Lord. He prayed the sinner's prayer and asked forgiveness and received Christ as his own personal Saviour, and has been growing in Christ since that time . . .

We never had a family of our own, and now overnight, we have three! Instant coffee, instant tea, instant family!

Danny has confided in us and told of his past, and the threat of the occult in the area where he lived. There are ceremonies and powwows and "peyotism" is a going thing — a religion to many of the Indians. Medicine men practice healing ceremonies, also . . .

At home, Danny is very courteous and polite, and is a real help about the house. He is also very particular about his clothes and hair, and keeps himself real neat and clean. Again, we're thankful for the blessing of having these boys in our home, and want to especially take this time to thank the Lord for our foster son, Danny Cody!

— Robert Flowers
Youngstown, Ohio



Neal Nez [also] was assigned to Gertrude and I. We soon got acquainted and got him settled in a nice room.

Neal seemed hungry for the Word of God, and after a short rest and shower, jumped up and traveled another 100 miles or so to an evangelistic outreach crusade with Rev. Humbard. Sitting under the dynamic anointed preaching of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, Neal responded to the prompting of the Holy Spirit of God upon his heart, and went forward and surrendered his life completely to God and was gloriously saved. We noticed the difference right away, since his new walk with Christ.

. . . The Navajo people have always feared the dead, and when someone dies, they abandon the home where the dead is. They do not like to be ridiculed or made fun of, and they will either like you or hate you; if they like you, they will die for you; if they hate you, they will, or would, destroy you.

. . . Some of the parents were reluctant to send their children so far — Ohio seemed to be on the other side of the earth to them — but they are sure now they did the right thing, for everyone is doing fine!

. . . Among the youth activities they have enjoyed thus far has been the Canfield Fair, a Halloween party, a Christmas party at the Humbards, roller skating, and many other things.

ADOPTION

NATIVE PEOPLE UNITE TO WIN COURT BATTLE TO KEEP SISTERS AT HOME

Seattle, Washington — A Suquamish woman has won temporary custody of her two orphaned sisters in a hearing which would have cleared the way for the adoption of the two girls by a non-Indian Seattle family which has cared for the girls for the last five years.

The Suquamish Tribe and the Puyallup Tribal Council have been fighting to keep the girls in a native home, although the Seattle Catholic Children's Services had other plans for the children.

The court order forbade the agency from trying to arrest the older sister, Nancy Chiquiti, and her husband. The Chiquitis had been holding the sisters under a Suquamish Tribal Court order which awarded custody of the children under tribal authority. The validity of the tribal court order was challenged by Seattle's King County Juvenile Court.



Still another sister, Angela, 14, had already rejoined her eldest sister. There were five daughters orphaned in 1968. It has only been recently that the eldest daughter has become married and financially able to care for the younger ones.

A social worker had made an affidavit to the court considering the adoption by the non-Indian parents that "no one having or claiming to have any rights or interests in or to the children has made any inquiry regarding their welfare, and may be presumed to have abandoned them. . ."

The same social worker had attended a meeting only weeks earlier in which the Chiquitis, Indian tribal leaders, and other members of the family and community expressed their concern regarding the welfare of the children.

(Thanks to U.S. News and World Report, The Arizona Republic, Mike Wright and the Marquette, Michigan Mining Journal, The Native People and Laurent Roy, New York Times News Service, Liberation News Service,

AN EDITORIAL ON ADOPTIONS

[Our People] have a distinct and unique culture. It permeates all aspects of our living, forming a basis of our feelings, thoughts, and behaviour. It is practised and lived as unconsciously as eating and sleeping and comes about automatically as part of living in a particular family and society.

There is one group of Indians, however, who will never have the opportunity of knowing and experiencing their culture and developing a pride in what they are.

These are the children who for one reason or another have lost their parents and have been made wards of the state, given up for adoption.

Usually these children end up in the homes of white families where they have little opportunity to get a hold of what it means to be an Indian or to gain the comfort and reassurance that comes from the guidance of cultural values . . .



One answer, of course, would be for more Indian parents to adopt Indian children, but that, as experience has shown, would not be entirely sufficient. [Other] children should be placed in an Indian environment, cared for by their own people and learning and experiencing their own culture. This could involve group homes on the reserves, employing Indian people to care for the children; or it could involve the development of foster homes among families on the reserves.

In any case, we should no longer allow outside agencies, however well motivated, to take charge of our children and permit them to lose their heritage. The Indian people can and should care for their own.

(This editorial appeared in the Saskatchewan Indian.)

MICHIGAN NATIVE GROUP ACTS TO PREVENT 'WHOLESALE ABDUCTION'

Detroit, Michigan — The Native American Child Protection Council (NACPC) was formed here last year to prevent what vice-president Bernice Appleton calls the wholesale abduction and adoption of Indian children.

"There is a shortage of white babies for adoption, so naturally, since not too many whites want black babies," she says, "they are coming for the next — and that's the Indian. These agencies are going into Indian homes and telling them their homes are unfit because they have two children, or three children, sleeping in one bed. Now I've had three daughters sleeping together for years and I was never aware I was an unfit mother."

Mrs. Appleton says that agencies want to apply non-Indian standards for Indian homes, which brings more children into care, and which prevents more native people from being adoptive parents.

"Indians are different. It isn't necessary for Indian children to have one bed apiece," she said. "I don't even think it's good for children to sleep apart. Our children, you see, learn sharing right from the start."

The philosophy of NACPC is that native children should be placed in homes where at least one parent is native. The council feels that it is only there that the child will be able to retain his or her identity and culture, and will not suffer the frustrations which often arise in inter-racial adoptions.

The NACPC viewpoint is that since the Indian concept of "family" often branches out to include many relatives, and these relatives maintain a close relationship and sense of responsibility to all other members of the family, children who are living with someone other than the natural mother or father are not necessarily "being neglected."

The NACPC asked the Michigan Department of Social Services to accept Indian foster homes for Indian children, after getting tentative licensing approval for several Indian homes. However, the agency which co-operated with them was a black adoptive agency, and now the state has refused to accept the black certification. The agency has state licensing, and NACPC is upset because the state will not accept its recommendations on Indian homes.

The NACPC has held meetings with executives of state agencies to sensitize them to the feelings and needs of native people.

Other similar Indian child welfare councils are being organized by concerned native people throughout North America. Further information can be obtained from NACPC, 3164 Linden St., Dearborn, Michigan, or by telephone from (313) 562-2636.

THE QUESTION IS: WOULD THE DOCTOR BE BRIGHT ENOUGH TO SURVIVE IF ADOPTED BY THE TASADAYS?

Miami, Florida — Seems like North American Indians aren't the only ones who face a loss of their children through adoption practices.

A Miami physician, Aaron Stern, applied to the Philippines Government for two Tasaday children from the tribe "discovered" just a few years ago. Stern said he wanted to show that primitive children, if brought up and educated in a modern environment, would demonstrate a level of intelligence as high as any others.

Panamin, a government foundation which handles tribal affairs, rejected the proposal, saying "we are sure the Tasaday are as intelligent as any other humans, but our aim is to protect them as a living link to the past and a cultural treasure of the Philippines and all mankind," a reply about as patronizing as Stern's.

Panamin said it would be glad to find Stern youngsters from some other primitive group, however.

The Tasadays, 128 in number, live a tranquil life in caves in a deep jungle gorge.

TWENTY-SIX NATIVE CHILDREN REMOVED FROM MISSIONARIES

Tucson, Arizona — Twenty-six native children, most of them Apache and Navajo, were taken by court order from a private foster home operated by a missionary couple here last Winter.

Mr. and Mrs. Gary Woods, operators of the House of Samuel, were allowed to retain custody of four of the children, including one four-year-old girl they had legally adopted.



The fact that so many native children were being raised in a foreign culture was not the problem. Pima County Juvenile Court Judge John Collins noted that the children were receiving good care, but there was an immediate danger from possible fire — a bedroom was separated from the furnace by a flimsy partition — and the home was not licensed under state law.

Collins said the missionaries had apparently offered to take in kids that were underprivileged or undernourished.

Woods said he and his wife, Jenny, would get the proper license and have a new home built this Summer. "The Lord only knows" where the money will come from, he said. They had been caring for large numbers of children for the past four years.

Judge Collins said he wished it had not been necessary for him to sign the order causing the removal of the children to other foster homes and to their own homes, but he said the law was the law and he had no other choice.

GENOCIDE HAS MANY FACES

"Of the 335 Indian adoptions registered through [1972], 53 were children adopted by Indian people, and 282 by non-Indians."

— excerpt from the annual report, Canadian Dept. of Indian Affairs

WISCONSIN WILLING TO COOPERATE WITH NATIVE ADOPTIVE FAMILIES

Green Bay, Wisconsin — Native parents able to adopt native children should contact Kay Leonhardt of the Wisconsin Department of Health and Social Services, Family Services Division, 1181 Western Avenue, Green Bay, Wisconsin, for information. While interstate adoptions are easily arranged, applicants should be able to travel to Wisconsin for pre-placement visits.

IT'S TIME FOR NATIVE PEOPLE TO ENTER THE ARENA

ARENA, the Adoption Resources Exchange of North America, is a special project of Child Welfare League of America. It has received a special grant from the Bureau of Indian Affairs to assist in inter-racial placements, meaning, of course, the placement of Indian children in white homes. They have a waiting list for Indian infants and pre-schoolers composed of non-Indian parents, but no one seems to want several dozen Indian children between 8 and 14. Native families who would like to apply can contact ARENA at 67 Irving Place, New York, N.Y. 10003.

★ OUR OWN SYSTEM OF FOSTER CARE ★

Prior to the introduction of foster care as we know it today, the native people had their own system of foster care. In the event of death to the parents of a native child, the grandparents or some other close relative would take it upon themselves to adopt and raise the orphaned youngster as one of their own. There were also instances where the grandparents adopted children from a large family and raised them as their own. Some

people devoted their entire lives to raising children, other people's in addition to their own. With the introduction of foster care organizations, the natives' own system of foster care gradually diminished and is almost totally replaced by the system in effect now.

The present system cannot boast of a high rate of success for a variety of reasons, most of which are as complex and

deep-rooted as the problem itself. Since most children are placed in foster homes in their formative years, what they gain materially is almost negligible to what they lose culturally and emotionally.

[As native people examine the problem, it would not be surprising if they turned to using the system of long ago.]

(This editorial appeared in the Native People, the publication of the Alberta Native Communications Society, 11427 Jasper Ave., Edmonton, Alberta.)

books of interest

NEW PAPERBACKS TO CONSIDER

AMERICA'S ANCIENT TREASURES by Franklin Folsom. A Rand-McNally guide to Archeological Sites and Museums. Contains details on beautiful treasures of our people, plus disgusting things that have been done in the name of science. A guide of where to find them all. 190 pages, paper, \$2.95.

THE ROAD TO WOUNDED KNEE by Robert Burnette, Rosebud Sioux tribal chairman, and John Koster. Chapters on education, health, welfare, treaties, land, law & order, the BIA, tribal government, an inside opinion on the Trail of Broken Treaties, and Wounded Knee. \$1.95, paper.

WHO'S THE SAVAGE by David R. Wrone and Russell S. Nelson, Jr. A documented history of the how America has regarded native people right up to the present day. \$1.25.

THE TORTURED AMERICANS by Bob Burnette. An account of the corruption, exploitation, and oppression of native peoples — and the fight against it. Detailed review — often caustic — of the role of tribal councils in exploiting their own people. Book was published a few years ago, then withdrawn for legal reasons. It is back on the market again, hardcover only for \$7.95 with a lengthy section of photographs.

MONUMENTS IN CEDAR: The Authentic Story of the Totem Pole by Edward Keithahn. Originally published at \$12.50, but now \$3.95. 150 photos. A pictorial account of the history and meanings of potlatch and mortuary poles, house posts, ceremonial bowls, masks of the native people of the Pacific Northwest. Hardcover.

DESIGNS ON PREHISTORIC HOPI POTTERY by Jesse Walter Fewkes. 250 illustrations, 180 pages, paperback. \$3.50. An 1895 report reprinted, with powerful and imaginative designs and the ideas behind them.

SWEETGRASS: A Modern Anthology of Indian Poetry by Orville, Wayne, and Ronald Keon. 156 p., \$2.50, illustrated. A unique volume by a family of poets. Uneven, but with some strong pieces.

COME TO POWER edited by Dick Lourie. Some good new contemporary native poets, with a knowledgeable introduction by Joseph Bruchac. \$3.95, paperback.

CHCES FROM WAHKON-TAH: Contemporary Poetry of Native Americans. Edited by Robert Dodge and Joseph McCullough with a forward by Vine Deloria, Jr. 144 p., \$2.75. Contains the work of some new poets: Ray Young Bear, Donna White Wing, Marnie Walsh, Bruce Severy and others.

THE JAMES BAY DEVELOPMENT PROJECT: A Trojan Horse, by Dorothy Rosenberg and Lucia Kowaluk. A pamphlet reprinted from *Our Generation* describing how this project is as disastrous for white folk as it is for the native people who will be displaced. 25 cents.

SITTING BULL: The Years in Canada by Grant McEwan. Most people don't know Sitting Bull and thousands of Sioux were exiled in Canada for years after the Battle of the Little Big Horn. This is an (incomplete) essay of Canadian/American/Indian history. \$8.95 hardcover only.

TALES FROM THE IGLOO edited and translated by Maurice Metayer, illustrated by Agnes Nanogak. Really a nice 127-page book of expurgated tales from the North. \$4.95 hardcover only. A good children's book gift.

POTLATCH by George Clutesi is now in paperback for \$2.95. It is the view of a potlatch through the eyes of a participant, and gives an understanding of the drama of this magnificent custom which was outlawed by the Canadian Government. 188 pages.

BIOGRAPHIES

CRAZY HORSE: The Strange Man of the Oglalas by Mari Sandoz, paperback, 413 p., \$1.95. A glorious hero tale told with beauty and power.

SUN CHIEF: The Autobiography of a Hopi Indian. 455 p., paper, \$3.95. The life of Don Talayesva, a commonplace man, in a valuable social document.

GERONIMO: His Life Story. 204 p., paper, \$1.25. A morality tale of terrifying relevance.

POUNDMAKER by Norma Sluman, hardcover, \$7.95. Life of a great Cree orator and peacemaker who lived in the mid-1800s. 301 pages.

THE PATRIOT CHIEFS by Alvin Josephy Jr. 346 p., paper, \$1.95. Biographies of Hiawatha, King Philip, Pope, Pontiac, Tecumseh, Osceola, Black Hawk, Crazy Horse, Chief Joseph. Good for younger readers, too.

GREAT UPON THE MOUNTAIN: Crazy Horse of America, by Vinson Brown with illustrations by Adelbert Zephier. 143 p., paper, \$2.25. Emphasizing the spiritual crises and triumphs and his meaning for other peoples.

LOUIS RIEL by George Stanley. 400 p., paper, \$3.50. The life of the founder of Manitoba, the leader of the Metis, and one of the most remarkable figures of Canadian history, whose dream still lives.

TRAPPING IS MY LIFE, by John Tetso. 115 p., hardcover, \$4.95. A contemporary account of a Slavey who lived near Fort Simpson, N.W.T. A devout Catholic, Tetso wrote many letters telling of his life and times as a trapper.

TENDROY, CHIEF OF THE LEMHIS, by David Crowder. 139 p., paper, \$2.75. Biography of a chief of Idaho, noted both for his fighting prowess and peaceful relations.

LAME DEER, SEEKER OF VISIONS: The Life of a Sioux Medicine Man, by John (Fire) Lame Deer and Richard Erdoes. A modern-day Lakotah tells of his life and efforts to live his beliefs. 288 p., paper, \$2.95.

SAGA OF CHIEF JOSEPH by Helen Howard. \$6.95, hardcover only. The definitive biography of a noted leader.

BLACK HAWK by Jackson. \$1.75. His own story of his people's fight to plant corn on their own land. Paperback.

PLENTY COUPS by Linderman. \$1.80. Written in 1930 by a Crow chief.

IN THE DAYS OF VICTORIO: Recollections of a Warm Springs Apache by James Kaywaykla and Eva Ball. \$4.95 paperback. The story of a brave people who sought to survive as seen through the eyes of a participant.

I WILL FIGHT NO MORE FOREVER by Beal. \$1.65, paper. The story of Chief Joseph and his people.

JIM WHITEWOLF: The Life of a Kiowa Apache. \$1.75 paperback. Told in 1950 by a man born in the second half of the 19th century, living according to his own values.

WHITE SAVAGE: The Case of John Dunn Hunter, by Richard Drinnon. Scholarly but fascinating story of a white captive who was companion to kinds and who tried to found a red & white nation in North America. \$12.50 hardcover only.

TATANGA MANI: Walking Buffalo of the Stonies, by Grant MacEwan. Born in 1871, Tatanga Mani was dedicated to the cause of brotherhood but was a defender of his people at the same time. \$3.95, paper, 208 p.

FIGHTING TUSCARORA: The Autobiography of Chief Clinton Rickard, edited by Barbara Graymont. \$10.50, hardcover only, 182 pages. Rickard died in 1971 after decades of selfless work for native rights.

WOODEN LEG: A Warrior Who Fought Custer, interpreted by Thomas B. Marquis. Related in 1931, this narrative is the story of one man recalling his life and times. \$2.25, paper, 380 p.

HEROES OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN by Sol Stember. Hardcover only, \$5.00. Good reading for adults and jr. high students. A dozen short biographies of noted chiefs and leaders.

NUGLIAK, edited and translated by Maurice Metayer. An Inuit records the struggles and contentment of his life-style in the Canadian North. Now in paperback at \$1.25, 190 pages.

LA RAZA: FOUR BOOKS ON AZTLAN

LORD OF THE DAWN: QUETZALCOATL by Tony Shearer. A song of the great harmonies as seen by one pilgrim on the Great Quest. \$3.95, paper, 200 pp.

MACHINE AGE MAYA: The Industrialization of A Guatemalan Community, by Manning Nash. Primarily an anthropological study of a mountain community with a large textile mill in its midst. \$1.95, paper.

SONS OF THE SHAKING EARTH: The People of Mexico and Guatemala, Their Land, History, and Culture, by Eric Wolf. \$1.95, paper, 295 pages.

AZTECAS DEL NORTE: The Chicanos of Aztlan, by Jack D. Forbes. A landmark study. 95 cents, paperback, 336 pages.

BOOKS ABOUT NATIVE WOMEN

MOUNTAIN WOLF WOMAN: Sister of Crashing Thunder. Edited by Nancy Oestreich Lurie, foreword by Ruth Underhill. Spanning 75 recent years, this is one woman's account of her childhood, her marriage, her religious experiences with peyote. A companion volume to "Autobiography of A Winnebago Indian." \$1.95, paper.

OJIBWA WOMAN: Male and female life cycles among the Ojibwa Indians of Western Ontario, by Ruth Landes. \$2.25, paper, 245 pages. An ethnologic field study rather than the view of a participant, but with some valuable insights.

AMERICAN INDIAN LIFE edited by Elsie Clews Parsons. \$2.95, 410 p. First published in 1922, this volume was planned for the general reader. Fictionalized biographies of native people with some good selections on women.

ME AND MINE: the autobiography of Helen Sekaquaptewa, a Hopi woman who was taken from her people for education by the U.S. An honest account of a "progressive" woman. \$3.95.

THE LOST UNIVERSE by Gene Weltfish. \$1.65. Pawnee society, including some good description of women's affairs.

NOTE CARDS OF NATIVE WOMEN: twelve different charcoal portraits by Gayle High Pines. With envelopes, \$1.75 postpaid.

SPIRITUAL BELIEFS

THE SPIRITUAL LEGACY OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN by Joseph Epes Brown. Just 30 pages, 70 cents, but a very succinct statement on religious beliefs and practice, sometimes with comparisons to Christianity.

MEDICINE POWER: The American Indian's Revival of His Spiritual Heritage and Its Relevance for Modern Man, by Brad Steiger. Some hocus, some pocus, and some pretty good stuff. \$2.95 in paperback, 225 pages.

THE WORLD'S RIM: Great Mysteries of the North American Indians by Hartley Burr Alexander. Written by a philosopher rather than an anthropologist, showing glimpses into cultures of rich humanity. 250 pages, paper, \$1.95.

GOD IS RED by Vine Deloria, Jr. It is possible to conceive of God in ways different than Western Civilization does. Vine shows why the native conception can lead the world to sanity and survival. \$7.95 in hardcover only, 375 p.

COLLECTIONS AND ANTHOLOGIES

THIS COUNTRY WAS OURS by Virgil Vogel. 470 p., \$3.95. (Also available in hardcover for \$12.50.) A Documentary History of the American Indian. Quotes from various documents, including some hard-to-find sources. Also reviews political party planks on Indians over the years, lists significant dates, contains biographies, etc.

TOUCH THE EARTH: A Self-Portrait of Indian Existence, compiled by Terry McLuhan. \$2.95 paperback. Curtis photographs and quotations on Indian life.

I HAVE SPOKEN: American History Through the Voices of the Indians, compiled by Virginia Irving Armstrong. A collection of native oratory from 17th to 20th century. \$2.95, paperback, 200 p.

RED POWER: American Indians' Fight for Freedom. Documentation of the current struggles through 1970. A collection by Alvin Josephy. \$2.95.

CRONICLES OF AMERICAN INDIAN PROTEST by the Council on Interracial Books for Children. A survey of resistance and struggle through the years. \$1.25.

THE WAY: AN ANTHOLOGY OF AMERICAN INDIAN LITERATURE edited by Shirley Hill Witt and Stan Steiner. Like no other anthology. Poems, essays, articles from the past and present. \$1.95.

I AM AN INDIAN, edited by Kent Gooderham. Essays and poetry by native people. An attractive pot-pourri of short pieces. \$2.50.

THE AMERICAN INDIAN: THE FIRST VICTIM edited by Jay Daid. Life, suffering, and hopes by native writers. A collection of articles and essays. \$2.25.

THE INDIAN AND THE WHITE MAN EDITED BY Wilcomb E. Washburn. A collection of documents from 1492 to 1961 illustrating Indian/white relations. 475 pages, paper, \$2.95.

LITERATURE: SHORT STORIES

THE AMERICAN INDIAN SPEAKS edited by John R. Milton. Poems, art, short fiction, music, essays. \$4.00, 189 pages.

THE MAN TO SEND RAIN CLOUDS: Contemporary Stories by American Indians, edited by Kenneth Rosen. A highly entertaining volume of special stories by Leslie Silko, Simon Ortiz, Anna Lee Walters, R.C. Gorman and others. \$6.95 hardcover only.

AMERICAN INDIAN ANTHOLOGY: Stories, poetry by Frank LaPointe, David Montana, Vance Good Iron, Gerald Vizenor. 72 pages, \$2.00, paper.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF NORTH AMERICAN FOLKLORE AND FOLKSONG: The American Indians North of Mexico, including the Eskimos. \$13.00, hardcover, with key. By Charles Haywood. About 500 pages with a 133-page index of sources of records, stories, songs, and data. Important for libraries, researchers, writers. Arranged by nations and tribes.

THREE BOOKS BY WILF PELLETIER

Wilf Pelletier is a contemporary Odawa philosopher. These three books by him and his associates are highly regarded as keys to the life and thought of natural peoples.

TWO ARTICLES: Childhood in an Indian Village, and Some Thoughts About Organization and Leadership. 25 p., pamphlet, \$1.25.

WHO IS THE CHAIRMAN OF THIS MEETING? A collection of essays, edited by Ralph Osborne. 100 p., paper, \$2.50. Including essays by D.G. Poole, introduction by Farrell Toombs.

NO FOREIGN LAND: The Biography of a North American Indian. Wilfred Pelletier tells his life's story and thoughts to Ted Poole, on the difficulties of being a natural person.

THE CONTEMPORARY SCENE

THE SAN CARLOS STORY & UPDATE: compilation of articles in the Arizona Daily Star on the hard times and corruption and situation of the Apaches. \$1.75.

TO LIVE ON THIS EARTH: American Indian Education, by Estelle Fuchs & Robert J. Havinghurst. \$3.95, paper, 390 p. If you want to understand the reforms probably on the way, as well as the current situation in Indian education, this book will be useful.

NOVELS

WAR CHIEF JOSEPH by Helen Howard and Dan McGrath. \$2.65. Chief Joseph's story.

SON OF OLD MAN HAT: A Navajo Autobiography recorded by Walter Dyk. A sensitive, frank, simple life story. \$2.25.

INDIAN BOYHOOD by Charles A. Eastman. 244 p., paperback, \$2.00. First published in 1902. The first fifteen years of traditional life of the Sioux.

WHEN THE TREE FLOWERED by John G. Neihardt. A fictionalized autobiography of Eagle Voice, a Sioux. 248 p., paperback, \$1.65. A warm human projection as sensed by a senior poet.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A WINNEBAGO INDIAN transcribed by Paul Radin. A classic written in 1920 of a man, Crashing Thunder, who lived the traditional life, became an alcoholic in the white world, and found himself again with peyote and new religious experience.

HOUSE MADE OF DAWN by Scott Momaday. 95 cents. Pulitzer Prize Winner. A powerful novel of the 20th Century.

THE LIGHT IN THE FOREST by Conrad Richter. Story of a white boy raised by Indians, and torn in his loyalties. 117 pages, paper, 75 cents.

THE ORDEAL OF RUNNING STANDING by Thomas Fall. A powerful novel of a new Indian in a hostile America. 300 pages, paper, 95 cents.

THREE CRAFT MANUALS BY GEORGE WHITE

INDIAN FOOTWEAR 63 pages. Sketches of patterns required to make a variety of footwear. \$1.95.

CRAFT MANUAL OF YUKON TLINGIT. 56 pages, \$1.95. Everything from hide boats to dolls.

AMERICAN INDIAN AND ESKIMO BASKETRY: A Key to Identification by Charles Miles and Pierre Bovis. \$3.00 hardcover, special offer.

Anishnawbeg

INDIAN LIFE IN THE UPPER GREAT LAKES: 11,000 B.C. to 1860 A.D. by George Quimby. Ancient North American history, well-illustrated archeology. \$2.45, paper, 180 p.

THE PRAIRIE POTAWATOMI: Tradition and Ritual in the Twentieth Century, by Ruth Landes. Done in the 1930s, focusing on contemporary issues. Hardcover only, 400 p., \$12.50.

THE INDIANS OF THE WESTERN GREAT LAKES: 1615-1760, by W. Vernon Kietz. \$2.95, paper, 425 p. Based on the letters and journals of European traders, missionaries, and officials who visited the Miami, Ottawa, Potawatomi and Chippewa in the years before European contact had changed the life style.

LETTERS AND NOTES ON THE MANNERS

LETTERS AND NOTES ON THE MANNERS' CUSTOMS, AND CONDITIONS OF NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS by George Catlin (1830s). two volumes, \$8.00 for both. paper. 312 illustrations, 500 pages text. Catlin spent eight years travelling the western plains. This is what he saw, wrote, and painted.

COMMUNITY

THE HERITAGE OF COMMUNITY edited by Arthur and Griscom Morgan. A critique of community living based on great ways of life practiced by small communities over the world. 64 p., paperback, \$1.00.

RESOURCES

XTRACOPIES

EXTRA COPIES of this issue are available for single copy orders, or for bulk distribution and resale. They can be sent out by regular mail prepaid, or by bus collect, for prompt delivery.

The paper is useful to raise consciousness about native events and situations, and is also good for fund-raising. On consignment, the paper is 35 cents each — you pay after they have been sold. Payment in advance is 25 cents each. For \$5, then, a person could give 20 copies to friends or a social studies class. For \$25, a reservation group could see that 100 homes each received a copy. Churches with a genuine concern for Indian events could order copies for distribution within the parish.

By whatever means, we urge each person reading this to consider ways by which this message can reach the most possible people.

BACK ISSUES

Back issues are available for some editions for 50 cents each. There are eleven still in print — all available back issues can be obtained for \$5.00.

Volume One (1969) is out of print and available only on microfilm. There were ten issues that year.

Volume Two (1970) had seven issues. All are now out of print, available only on microfilm.

Volume Three (1971) had nine issues. All are now available only on microfilm.

Volume Four (1972) had six issues. Four are still in print — numbers 3, 4, 5 and 6.

Volume Five (1973) had six issues. Number 1 is out of print, but the others are still available.

Volume Six (1974) has had three issues, including this one, and all are still available. This is the 41st issue of AKWESASNE NOTES.

MICROFILM

AKWESASNE NOTES is available on microfilm and microfiche from a number of sources:

Bell & Howell Co., Underground Press Package, Microphoto Division, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691

Kraus-Thomson Organization Ltd., Route 100, Milwood, N.Y. 10546

University Microfilms
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48105

Microfilm Corporation of America
21 Harristown Road, Glen Rock,
New Jersey 07452.

OUR OWN ALBUM — WILLIE DUNN

This stereo album of toe-tapping music is both good music and political education. Lyrics are printed on the album cover. Jerry Saddleback sings a Grass Dance Song and a Chief's Song as well. Still just \$5.00.

(Sorry — we're still having trouble getting the Floyd Westerman album 'cause the company isn't in business any more. We'll let you all know when we have the album in stock again.)

We have a printer's over-run on a few recent back issues of NOTES, and we'd like to send a bundle of 30 for just \$3.50 — good for distribution at church, in class, to friends. If you can really use them and don't have the \$3.50, send what you can and we'll do what we can. Ask for "printer's over-run" when you write so we'll know what you're asking for. This offer is good only until our supply has been exhausted.

A PACKET OF NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

This packet contains recent issues of ten native newspapers from all over North America. It makes an easy sampling for libraries or individuals. The last packet contained River Times (Alaska), Tribal Tribune (Washington), The Native People (Alberta), Talking Leaf and UIDA Reporter (California), Native Nevadan, Indian News (Oklahoma), Nishnawbe News (Michigan), and Standing Rock Star (Dakotas) plus a few others. The packet costs \$2 postpaid.

The National Indian Brotherhood of Canada has a series of publications now available through NOTES.

INDIAN CONTROL OF INDIAN EDUCATION. \$2.00.

ABORIGINAL PEOPLE OF CANADA and THEIR ENVIRONMENT. \$2.00.

STATEMENT ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN COMMUNITIES. \$1.00.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES OF BOOKS AND NEWS-PAPER ARTICLES:

Aboriginal People: Selected Bibliography \$6.50.

Historical Development of Aboriginal Political Associations in Canada. \$2.00.

Contemporary Indian Protests (in three volumes, each \$2.00.)

National Indian Brotherhood Library Annotated List of Holdings. \$2.50.

NIB Library Accession Lists. (Four lists, each 50 cents.)

Lands and Resources. \$2.00.

BOOKS IN QUANTITY?

Multiple copies of any title sold by NOTES are available at discounts of 20% for books from other publishers, and 40% for our own publications. It's a chance for classrooms, church study groups, or others wanting to use a book or pamphlet — or for individuals and bookstores who want to resell books to their customers.

Also, an INDIAN BOOKSHELF of a variety of titles for resale in bookstores, health-food outlets, trading posts, or at special events is available. A sampler of \$125-worth of books at retail prices is available for \$100. Any unsold copies can be returned.

ON THE ROAD

People associated with the newspaper, AKWESASNE NOTES, carry out an extensive travel schedule each year. In addition to news-gathering work, the group meets with reservation and urban native groups to promote strength in the ways of the Creation.

In addition, it meets with college, church, and community groups to develop support and understanding, and to raise funds for travel costs, publishing activities and furthering native causes.

Persons who wish to meet with the group when it is in their area can write for the group's itinerary.

The group is also willing to meet with interested groups to share its displays, crafts, photo exhibits, film festival, speakers, spiritual leaders, and requests to do this will be fitted into the travel schedule wherever possible.

However, travel is costly for a group of 12 or so people, and raising funds for publishing activities is a primary purpose of travel. Thus the work can be furthered best by having people locate colleges, community organizations, and churches willing and able to donate an amount equivalent to that paid to similar cultural groups.

Groups wishing to arrange 1974-75 bookings for the AKWESASNE NOTES group may contact it at Mohawk Nation, via Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13683. Please give your telephone number, and we will phone you at a convenient time.

TAPES

THE NATIVE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE IN CALIFORNIA

Not all Europeans were greed-ridden, but the greedy first dominated their own society, then grew to conquer other peoples. Colonialism has been a battle between the greed-ridden world view and one based on sharing and giving. With this thesis, Dr. Jack Forbes, a founder of DQU, traces the history of California from pre-colonial times to the present.

Topics include how traditional political systems are seen as signs of political and racial inferiority; multi-dimensional realities of daily native life; the California experience of genocide; colonial structures today. The entire tape is 90 minutes.

STOKELY, AIM & YOU: Stokely Carmichael, former SNCC organizer and now with the All-African Peoples' Revolutionary Party headquartered in West Africa, came to give his support to the Wounded Knee defendants in St. Paul. This program is a recording of speeches by William Kunster, Russell Means, and Stokely on the meaning of revolution, the relationship between the Third World and the native peoples of North America. 60 minutes.

GOD IS RED: A TALK BY VINE DELORIA, Jr., Lakota philosopher and attorney, on the necessity of native religious values for the Indian movement and for the future of North America. 30 minutes.

SECOND BATTLE OF WOUNDED KNEE: Three 45-minute documentaries on Wounded Knee are available on 90-minute cassettes. On one side is Rebirth of the Sioux Nation, and on the other is your choice of Second Battle of Wounded Knee or Four Vietnam Veterans — Interviews Inside Wounded Knee. Special price for the 90 minutes: \$10.00, ½ off for individuals. These three programs are also available on separate cassettes, and on reel-to-reel tape at the usual prices.

NATIVE AMERICAN EDUCATION LIBERATION

What white people talk about when they discuss Indian education is not Indian education at all — it is white education for Indian children. Outside of the schools, there is real Indian education taking place, Dr. Forbes points out. This talk reviews various school systems attended by Indian children in the context of currently-successful traditional Indian educational programs. He points up opportunities for authentic involvement not now being taken. 60 minutes.

LOUIS RIEL ALIVE: Two studies, one political, one spiritual, on the life of the Metis leader for the nationhood of his people, whose life ended with hanging. 60 minutes.

The tapes listed in this column are part of a series for schools, discussion groups, tape libraries, radio, and individuals. The series is always being updated, added to, and this list is mostly new additions.

30 minutes — \$7.00
45 minutes — \$8.50

Jack Forbes, a long-time friend of NOTES, an author, scholar, and teacher, has sent us a series of talks which we are happy to publish. They are in these programs:

INDIAN EDUCATION — THE EFFECTS OF CONQUEST: A series of three tapes.

1. One cannot expect the schools to overcome the reality of outside society. So Dr. Jack Forbes says in a tape exploring the historical growth of resistance and colonial thought from the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo to the present. It points out the ways programs intended to help Indian people today perpetuate the demeaning colonial relations. It is in this context that he examines "schools."

2. "The finest resource in this [Pomo] country, the only thing which distinguishes this place from any other, is the Pomo heritage." The living Indian people, the heart and soul of the native legacy, must be seen as the most cherished resource of the school and of the community, Dr. Forbes points out as he outlines both the need to return the schools to community control, and what this means for Indian parents who must prepare themselves to become involved in the education of their children.

3. When the state proposed to extend the Commission on Indian Education, which had continuously excluded Indians from the control of their own children's education, the California Indian Education Association sought a court order against the Commission. This tape is from a press conference following the court hearing. The court case itself exemplifies Dr. Forbes' analysis in the previous two programs.

Tape 1 is 60 minutes, tape two is 30 minutes, and tape 3 is 60 minutes.

SELF-DETERMINATION, COLONIALISM, AND CAPTIVE NATIONS

"How can we re-liberate without becoming one of the conquerors when we achieve it?" "When power alone determines what you can do, it is a disease that spreads." The history of the past five centuries is the history of conquest of democratic folk societies by Machivellian greed-based conquerors. But the conquest came after 4,000 years of resistance which continues today. A lecture by Dr. Jack Forbes. 45 minutes.

THE BRITISH COLUMBIA LAND CLAIM — The Indians peoples of B.C., after pressing their land claim for 98 years, have gained some recognition of their claim through the courts and the Canadian Parliament in 1973. This tape reviews the claim, the court decision in the Nishga case, and the government response. 60 minutes.

THREE MESSAGES FROM RAY FADDEN: History of the Iroquois Confederacy, Contributions of Indians, Problems, by the owner of the Six Nations Museum, at Onchiota, New York. 45 minutes.

Prices are for reel-to-reel tape at 3 3/4 ips, or on cassette or cartridge. (Please specify!) Institutions are expected to pay full price, but individuals and those who can't afford more can pay half-price.

60 minutes — \$10.00
90 minutes — \$11.00

ORDER FORM

(feel free to write your order in a letter, if you wish)

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Hidden Male Chauvinism?

NOTES: Let me express a feeling of distress over the way women are regarded by writers of articles you published. Undoubtedly, the Indian woman carries the next generation, but so does the testicle of the Indian man. To refer to women as walking wombs is a gross injustice on the part of those who ask for justice. Do women not possess other attributes besides a womb? Have we no courage? Have we no wisdom? Have we no useful skills? Are we not capable of defending ourselves with weapons?

I would like to see an editorial statement in NOTES as to how you feel about the role in life of the Indian woman as well as the role she can play in the movement.

Cathy

[We haven't even done an article on the role of men in the movement — it is up to each woman, each nation, each facet of each movement, to work out these questions. The references mentioned above sound un-NOTESlike and would be thought senseless to ask in the Iroquois Confederacy here. The Editors.]

A Message to Congress

NOTES: I'm sending my copy of your last issue to Congressman Lloyd Meeds to be sure that he has the blow-by-blow report of the trial being conducted by Judge Nichol [in St. Paul of Dennis Banks and Russell Means.]

It takes me about a week to read and digest NOTES, but I read it cover-to-cover and wish many more people could. More power to you.

Mildred Potts
Snohomish, Washington

Hand-In-Hand With Us

NOTES PEOPLE: Your paper really gets to me! If I cannot work for you in Mohawk Nation, I'll work for you here.

Enclosed is a week's salary. Please put it towards the land you are looking for.

Nancy Pearson
Van Nuys, California

On Americanizing America

NOTES: So glad you continue publication. As much as I've had time to read of Dr. Jack Forbes essay on Americanism, I agree with him 100%. It is depressing and discouraging, albeit true, when it is spelled out so adequately. Not only are the Indians and Blacks, but we whites are also frustrated and caught up in the vicious grinding mill of technology. Truly machines have become the masters of men, and man, of every race, has become technology's slave.

My fervent thanks to the Great Spirit for the fundamental beauties of American Indian culture. May the All Powerful One preserve and protect you and all the Indian peoples for clinging steadfast to a culture of morality, and an inspiration to every other race. Carry on!

Helen Howard Overland
Burbank, California

[Reader Overland is author of an excellent biography of Chief Joseph, as well as other works on our people. Ed.]

Getting the Word Overseas

NOTES: I am a foreign student from Tunisia, studying English at the University of South Carolina. Throughout my English studies, back home as well as here, I have found myself grappling with fossilized topics and academic language concealing under its contrived glow, senseless ideas which are 50% narcissistic in origin, or imperialistic in an insidious way.

There are two major examples in English studies as practised overseas which betray the poisonous character and essence of literary studies — there are the famous 'black problem' and 'Indian problem.' The living reality dimly referred to by these two titles is eventually distorted in the hands and minds of weary intellectuals. And suddenly, one realizes whose 'problem' it really is.

I think it is highly important and vital that the group efforts at assembling and organizing the Indian people reach the "intellectual" milieu overseas. I am sure that the students will immediately identify with the authentic expression of the people.

I myself felt immensely sobered up and rejuvenated when reading the Autumn issue of NOTES. I said to myself, "This is precisely what I had wanted to know when I took the course in the [American Indian] three years ago. That was the feeling among my classmates. But to our dislike, we could see the Indian only through the benumbing and dumb works of Fenimore Cooper, who wrote his books in France! To top it all, this had to go through the specialist's distorted and classified mind.

Jaafoure Abdesslem
Columbia, South Carolina

LETTERS

One Man's Weeds Is . . .

BROTHERS & SISTERS: I have enjoyed reading NOTES very much. I have one complaint, though, and I would like to express it to you in hope that it makes good sense. The NOTES are very important to our people, and for "our neighbors" as well. You are busy keeping track of all the events that you do, but they are all negative.

True, we as first people have an enormous amount of grievances to bring to the minds of people everywhere. We have been pushed from one place to another, lied to, lied about, hunted, killed and hated, all because we are different. It has happened in the Past, is happening at Present, and it will happen again in the future.

But, thank God, scattered out amongst all this insanity there are individuals who are doing good, doing things that are positive. Don't you have information about events that our people are involved in that show something positive, constructive, and helpful?

I am in prison — I can't go out and see what exactly is going on out there. Do not forget the rose — put a flower someplace amongst these ugly weeds.

Bobby Downs (Choctaw)
Duel Vocational Institution
PO Box 600 - B19228
Tracy, California 95376

Planting a Tree

BROTHERS AND SISTERS: I pray that the spirit of this letter finds you all well. The spring is here — a holy time for me and my family. Soon, we will go into the mountains to spend time with the creator and the spirits of our Grandfathers. I will plant a tree in your name.

Walks Long
Sedro Woolley, Washington

Appreciating Inner Beauty

NOTES: Whenever I look at photographs of native Americans, I am greatly impressed by the sheer power of their physical beauty. It is a beauty both outward and inward reflecting kindness and innocence and character of great quality. The eyes reflect the spirit of long inner journeys to the soul or spirit of human life. Your people do not need mirrors, for they have only to look at each other to find pleasure and answers. When I look at these pictures, it enhances my own sense of beauty and pride in being a human character.



I can understand the hatred of most whites by native Americans because it is founded in a reality which up till now has given you no choice. I think of all the warriors of all ages and nations whose gifts have been lost to us because their lifetimes permitted them no peace and no choice. Look at the birds of the air, so much more delicate than us, and wonder why we cannot as they, many feathered and many colored, share the earth as they can the sky, in harmony as was meant.

I am listening with you to the truth.

Karen Zoe Reeves
New York, New York

Tuscarora Power

NOTES: It's a wonderful feeling to know the Indian People are waking up! I am a native North Carolinian — the white man has kept my people of Robeson County from knowing our tribe's name for 200 years, and now they are getting back their Indian ways. All power to the Tuscaroras.

I would like to correspond with some western and some pueblo Indians.

Broughton Locklear 113352
Route 3, Box 3333
Hagerstown, Maryland 21740

A Great Eye-Opener

NOTES: Your magazine is a great eye-opener. The poetry is not like anything I've ever read before, and I think it's beautiful.

Noelle Paul
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Bringing Light to Darkness

NOTES: I want to thank you for the most complete coverage of the trial of Dennis Banks and Russell Means that I have been able to find. Being able to read the actual dialogue throws an entirely new light on the awkwardness of the prosecution.

The incredible, although highly consistent thing about the trial is the fact that the U.S. continues to look at the mere symptoms of the problem, rather than looking at the entire illness. It sees "crime" as the major problem of the occupation of Wounded Knee, and refuses to recognize its implications. I am amazed that the "theft of trading post items" can be so much more important than a complete social disorder administered in the name of the United States of America.

Reading your articles helps me to see how short-sighted many Americans are in terms of the problems this country has. I really have to question so many of the established organizations, as in judicial departments, a little more closely. Thank ye kindly.

Monica O'Grady
Santa Rosa, California

Everything But Jesus

RARIHOKWATS: I just wanted to again tell you how much you inspired me those two days you were at Taylor University. I ask the Great Creator to grant to me wisdom and light even as He has shown you. Next year, I will go to school in Israel, for this is my heritage. The Jews have been a disobedient people from the beginning: that is why God had to give them their scriptures, because they were ignorant of God's natural law. Possibly I will come to meet the Druze people of Mt. Herman, and come to know further of the things in which you spoke.

Concerning your faith in God, I find from what you have shared with me a real harmony with my own convictions. As far as Jesus, the Christ, is concerned, I see you as needing His atonement, for all men have sinned; but as far as His moral message is concerned, you don't need it, because you live it. Your brother,

Gary Leff
Muncie, Indiana

New-Style Journalism

NOTES: Keep up the good work. I think your paper is about the best journalism I've seen, and I say that because, or in spite of, the fact that I work for a newspaper. I think your paper is the best example of responsible journalism: it simply presents the facts, in many cases from both sides, and the reader can make his own mind up.

One suggestion: would it be possible to include a box-score on recently passed and pending legislation. The Supreme Court has made some rulings recently — I think it would be very helpful to summarize these kinds of actions (or inactions) at the Federal level.

David B. Gray
Providence, Rhode Island

Attention, Northern Minnesota!

NOTES: All points bulletin to area of Northern Minnesota!

Trying to contact any of our family out there. My father is very old now and often speaks of returning to Mother Earth, the mountains, and his forests to spend his remaining days in peace and harmony. Once I saw a photograph of him in an old book. He was called "Small Man Walking" then. Maybe some of our grandfathers could make prayers for him. He would like that, and then I would know that his spirit walks among warriors and my heart would be glad for my father.

Ms. Madalyn Jones
475 NR 142nd St.
Miami, Florida 33161

Wabanaki AIM

NOTES: The Maine Indians (Penobscot and Passamaquoddy) have formed the Wabanaki AIM chapter. As one of our first projects we are going to raise funds for the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee. We will be soliciting funds through raffles, and selling NOTES posters and NOTES. Please send us 200 copies.

Our goal is the unity and sovereignty of all native Americans.

Stan Neptune
111 Oak Hill
Penobscot Nation
via Old Town, Maine 04468

Everyday is Purification Day

NOTES: Though I am aware of many variations of visions and prophecies about the approaching Purification Day, their mentioning of cataclysms or world catastrophes as requirements for Purification seems far-fetched, however, not impossible. Actually, thinking about what a cataclysm is, I would feel that we are in one right now. We are living a world catastrophe — what else could be called this estrangement in which we live with each other?

We can not live with the hope that a Savior, a great Being, a catastrophe, or some other illustrious fantasy or Grand Illusions will come any day now and solve all of your troubles. It is infantile to wait for such event to take place. This great Being, this magnificent Moment, is here with us always. Purification Day is everyday.

Unsigned
California



Progress Finds Makah Nation

NOTES: Not long ago, the Makah People signed a treaty with the U.S. Now this treaty has been broken. We were forced into thinking that land included in our treaty was ceded to the government. The Kweditchaught people know that the 170,000 acres rightfully belongs to them. But the government wants to buy the land for the going price of less than 88 cents an acre, through offsets. This sacred land has not been ceded. We will not accept blood money for our lakes, valleys, rivers, and sacred fishing ground. Already, the monopoly logging corporations have severed the rolling hills of timber — some exported to Japan.

Here we are today, constantly searching for answers, various avenues for hope and continuity. The future is always foggy and the high administration opaque.

Jim Tollerud
Makah Nation
Neah Bay, Washington

Is College Educational?

BROTHERS AND SISTERS:

I am writing in regard to the letter written by Richard E. French from Browning, Montana (Early Winter issue). In his letter, he says that all Indian people are not protesting. He says that proper recognition is not given to the Indian people who have graduated from college. He seems also to correlate the lack of protest with a college education. He seems to be saying that if you graduate from college, you find it unnecessary to protest.

At this point, I must make a strong objection. Many Indian people who have graduated from college are protesting. I think one of the finest examples is Rod Skenadore, one of the spiritual advisers for AIM. Rod has a university degree in engineering, and is one of the most outspoken members of AIM. I myself have about one year left in college and I fully intend to keep protesting until our problems are handled properly, or until the last breath of life has left my body.

I think also that Mr. French has a basic misunderstanding about education and Indian people. First of all, a college education is just an advanced course of social ethics of the American Way of Life. College prepares you for the White Man's World. If you want to live in the White Man's World and live by his values, then you need a college education. But if you believe in the ways of our grandfathers, then all college does is give you a headache, and a heart ache from being homesick.

I thank our Grandfathers every day for showing me the path of my Fathers.

Brad Strong Elk
Salina, Kansas

Essential Reporting & Lyrical Too

NOTES: I am moved deeply by this newspaper. I hope to keep in touch with your work through your direct and beautifully illustrated, lyrical and yet extremely essential reporting. I feel privileged to have become aware of your community and I hope to be of some support to you.

Marilla Waesche
New York, New York

Waiting for the day

NOTES: I do not pity. I have sorrow that my people, who are supposedly so advanced, can be so stupid. Perhaps someday I may do some real good and can show something better than words. May you have a good harvest this year.

C.P. Huiterberger
Plattsburgh, N.Y.

The Koshare Tribe Again

NOTES: On June 12, the Koshare Indian Dancers from La Junta, Colorado, performed at Harrisburg Community College. These are the Boy Scouts who make mockery of Indian dances throughout the country and who get \$1,000 per performance and do nothing for Indian people.

It seems funny that a court ruling stopped the use of black face in the Mummers Parade in Philadelphia because it was derogatory to an ethnic group, but the same rule does not apply to the Boy Scouts, apparently, despite the fact that they misrepresent themselves as Indian — on the cover of their program it says Koshare Indian Dancers.

Please list in the next issue I am looking for craftsmen and dancers who are free to travel to perform in shopping malls the whole year long.

Jimmy Little Turtle
4225 Concord St.
Harrisburg, Pa. 17109

Symbiotically Harmonious Politics

SIR AND MADAM: I am 21 years old, and a candidate for the State Legislature. My constituency consists of very few racial minorities. I have never come in contact with an American Indian so I find your perspective particularly interesting.

I must admit that I find some of your views bitter and uncharitable and often overly generalized. I prayerfully hope you practice and mean what you preach about living in symbiotic harmony and disregard your more emotional rhetoric.

David P. Rovner
Bala Cynwyd, Pennsylvania

Another Door On the Real World

NOTES: Because you are fighting for something true and right, because one day will come which will be the end of the fight, I want to know and feel what these ideas are.

Your "newspaper" is for me another door opened on the real world, another band to what I belong: humanity.

A French philosopher said, "Believe me, liberty that everyone loves gives Man a dignity and courage that he would be unable to find anywhere else."

Ruelle Pierre Emmanuel
France

A Link With Australia

DEAR PEOPLE: We have been receiving your paper for the past year and have been able to use a good deal of the material included, especially that which refers to mining companies invading Indian land. In fact, there is a great link between the Aboriginal people of this country and yourselves, in that a number of the companies you have to contend with are also present on Aboriginal lands in Australia.

One of these is AMAX, the subsidiary of American Metal Climax, Inc. This company is at present the controlling partner in a proposed Bauxite venture in land which has been exiled from an Aboriginal reserve. At present, this project is being postponed for an unknown time, but it is still aimed that it will get off the ground.

The reason for writing is that in the Arnhem Land region of Australia, American and Canadian companies are joining with Australian firms in the exploitation of uranium deposits in the region of Aboriginal settlements. The Australian Union of Students is now supporting the Aboriginal people in that region against the companies, especially since the land claims of the people are now being considered by the present Labor Government. The companies, needless to say, are lobbying hard to prevent any concessions to the Aboriginal people which might leave them the losers.

I was wondering if you would be able to help us on one point. This is in respect to the Getty Oil Company. This company has joined with an Australian concern to take out leases which move into Aboriginal lands. Recently I came across an official report which stated that Getty "has experience on Indian reservations in the U.S. and claims favourable treatment of Indians concerned, including scholarships and training and employment opportunities."

Would you be able to give me any details as to which people the company is into, and to the true position as it now is between the people and Getty.

Justin Moloney
Australian Union of Students
97 Drummond St.
Carlton, 3053,
Melbourne, Australia

People May Live But Cultures Die

FRIENDS: Although the statistics show an increase of the "Indian population", there is, in fact, a reverse trend. Languages are extinct. Cultures are extinct — and some, having lost their culture, have adopted Plains items which they use on commercial tourist-visited "pow-wows" which have absolutely nothing to do with their original culture.

Because your work is so fruitful for retaining Indianness, I want to hear from you what your people intend to do on the cultural level to save themselves from disappearing into the American — or the Pan-Indian — melting pot. Your paper is necessary, but it is not sufficient.

With us in Europe, we have seen and still see the gradual disappearance of cultural minorities such as the Lapps, Basques, Welsh. Of course, they also fight back culturally and politically, but the economically necessary trek to the cities robs them, just as your own, of most of their best people. Urban life takes away identity in Europe as well as in America.

I hope that I may live to see that I was too pessimistic. May the American Indian Nations and cultures survive. Your way is healthier and ethically better than that of the technocratic pseudo-culture.

Franz Wojciechowski
Holland

Peace Be With You, Brother

NOTES: May the Peace and Blessing of Allah (God) be with you in all you do. Messenger Muhammad teaches us "to unite our people in one Nation of Brotherhood" and "to want for your brother what you want for yourself." And we want a strong and righteous nation. Peace be unto you!

Thomas X. Sparks Jr. 36187-115
PO Box 1000
Marion, Illinois 62959

Inflammatory Literature

NOTES: In my appreciation for the gift book received from you, I want to express my thanks and gratitude to all parties concerned. I don't know if you forwarded my paper, as I have not yet received it. Maybe our post office made another mistake, as they seem to make mistakes when it comes to NOTES and other (as they say) inflammatory literature.

Many native brothers and sisters owe thanks to the consciousness and awareness brought by NOTES.

Robert W. Sears 32248
Box B-32248 IER

Keep On Truckin'

NOTES: It is comforting to find a publication that doesn't deal in lying. I am a craftsman and have always felt more kinship with indigenous peoples' art and lifestyle than Western/European schools of fine arts and folkcrafts.

During the years I have collected reference books on American crafts, I was made very aware of the policy of genocide that non-native peoples have towards indigenous peoples. Of course, that applies to native people all over the world. The core of the situation is not the difference in the races as the difference in the lifestyles that makes the gap between people who want to live as nature intended all organisms on the planet to live, and people who want to live a totally industrialized plastic existence.

I don't think that gap will ever be bridged until all people have a complete understanding as to what their relationship to the earth and its environs must be to protect and continue life.

I am very proud to know there are people who have enough sense and pride in their human and cultural heritage to make a hard-line stand against the rapers of the earth. As one human being to the other, keep on truckin' — the truth will out.

Arlene Katz
Tannersville, New York



Viola Farver (White Water) passed into the Spirit World in August. A Shawnee well known in the east, White Water kept alive the traditions in her own life and family, although she was separated from her people. Despite advanced age, she was a frequent visitor to native events and her strong letters of support and encouragement were always welcomed by NOTES almost from the time the paper began. She was a Grandmother to us in the Real Ways, and she will be missed by her people and her family.

We have just heard of the deaths of Mr. and Mrs. L.D. Wilson John, Choctaw artists who were employed at the Chucalissa Indian Museum in Memphis, Tennessee. They died in their sleep January 4 as the result of monoxide poisoning from a defective heating system. Alice John was an accomplished beadworker, and her husband developed the old pottery techniques into beautiful art pieces. They are buried in their homelands at Pearl River, Choctaw Nation, Mississippi.

BROTHERS: I am Oglala Lakota, and speak my native tongue. I am from Pine Ridge, born and raised at Wounded Knee. I am a member of the American Indian Movement, and all my life I have been a member of the traditional spiritual religion, yowipi. My grandfather's name was Horn Chips, and when he was living, he was a great medicine man.

I am serving 1 to 3 years in prison here, and never cease to pray in my Lakota way for the good of all you brothers and sisters who have never stopped helping all of our people. It's a struggle, but I personally believe that if we all practice to pray with the Sacred Pipe, it will keep us in unity to walk the Red Man's road, the red road.

Billy Dean Hawk Wing 29152
PO Box 81248
Lincoln, Nebraska 68501

NOTES: A few concerned citizens are going to hold a dinner-dance benefit to raise money for the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee. The date is Sept. 21, 1974 at the Montebello Country Club, 901 N. Via, San Clemente, California from 6 p.m. to 1:30 a.m. The donation is \$15.00 per person and the public is invited to attend for filet mignon and dancing to the music of Sabor. For further information, contact:

Phyllis Caro
(213) 330-8509



Literature is needed

NOTES: I am wondering if there is any way we can get any Indian literature. There are about 15 of us, and we are starting a class on Indian history and culture. We hope we will have a good program that will continue with other Indian inmates when we leave here.

William E. Simmons 442584706
Drawer A

Strong Oneida Emotions

AKWESASNE: Brothers and sisters, it seems that I must be forever angry. My emotions are so strong when I read your paper, our paper. I ache with helplessness for our people locked in prison like animals in cages, people who cling to the reality of our heritage.

I feel tender pride when Gramma in a rest home writes to me, asking if I've ever read Akwesasne. I rage at the condescending whites who can see only hatred in this beautiful paper.

From the early winter edition, there are some letters. For every Indian lamenting, as Dale Bishop writes, there are many warriors fighting. The very fact that Indian Nations still exist at all speaks of a spirit that is eternal, yet Dale Bishop says, "the American Indian should... spiritually pick himself collectively up" etc. etc. I know of no greater handicap of Indians than a white man who thinks when I don't want to be him that I'm a loafer.

I next challenge Georgia Nagle and Seta Mathieson. I don't give a damn whether or not you get turned-off. Our spirit exists with this land, and what you see as bitterness and hatred, we feel as the force within ourselves which refuses to bow to your brute force and legal snake-talk. You speak of our destructiveness — yet it is your people who have sought and are seeking our destruction as Indians. Onagiwa.

Jerry Hill
Oneida Nation

NOTES: I do ask God's blessing on your struggle for dignity and justice.

Rev. Patrick Murphy
St. Mary's College
Jamaica, West Indies

The Bile-Centennial?

GREETINGS: I am writing to ask all brothers and sisters to refrain from participating in any direct or indirect celebration that is connected with the 200th anniversary of the United States Government being held in 1976.

We, the Native American People can all agree that this oppressive government has done many terrible things to us. If we do participate in these celebrations, we are turning our backs on our ancestors, and have sold out our own heritage.

Let us not allow the government to exploit us once again. Let us refuse to be a spectacle or an exhibit for a system that has enslaved us, taken away our lands, and raped our Mother Earth.

Lillian Peterson, Chairman
American Indian Movement,
106 NE Morris
Portland, Oregon 97212

Hope for Peruvian Peoples

NOTES: The situation of the native peoples in South America is bleak. In Peru, however, one of the countries with the highest percentage of native peoples, the situation is hopeful. We are awaiting the Law of Native Communities of the Jungle. But the situation of native peoples as colonized peoples continues unchanged.

The Amuesha are by far the best organized native nation in Peru — but that's not saying a whole lot. They are in the process of several struggles, mostly over land. They are trying to recuperate and reestablish a very sacred sit alienated and violated by the colonists.

Dick Smith
Peru

Nebraska Prison Group

NOTES: Thank you for your thoughts and prayers. May each of the People at Mohawk Nation be at peace with themselves this day and always.

Our culture group is slowly becoming more stable. We are still only tentatively recognized by the administration, so that is a handicap American Rights Fund is helping us in gaining recognition from the administration so that we may be a more-effective self-betterment organization.

The Nebraska Indian Commission should also receive some recognition here. They have been working hand-in-hand with us. Not only are they working on legislation that will improve our positions and conditions in here, but they have also been beneficial in representing us at Parole Board hearings and have lined up some good jobs.

Jessee T. Rouse
PO Box 81248
Lincoln, Nebraska 68501

Germany Gets the Word

NOTES: The following is a translation of a letter just sent to a neighbor from Germany. I believe it will please you to see that other countries are beginning to take notice of the Native American — perhaps helping to prod North Americans along the path of awareness, concern, and motivation to act now:

"Three lectures were given at the University of Freiburg I. Dr. Germany. Movies were shown about a trip from Montreal to the Pacific Coast. The speaker spoke with great concern about the pollution of lakes and waters, but she also spoke with great sincerity about the fact that the problems of the black people were made known much more than were the problems and deprivations of the Indians about whom no one seemed to earnestly care."

Jacqueline Iozzi
Union, New Jersey

A Flag for Unity?

NOTES: On April 3, 1972, I conceived the idea that we should have an intertribal flag. I know there are tribal banners, but this flag will serve as a bridge between the tribes in the form of a much-needed ambassadorial standard. I designed such a flag representing all Indian Nations and tribes of America, to be displayed along with the Stars and Stripes and tribal banners or upon its own staff.

I donated one thousand dollars toward this project of which \$690 was for the manufacture of 25 flags. They are available for \$20 each. There is no better way to unite a great people in harmony than that of displaying the American Indian Intertribal Flag, honoring the magnificence of a great civilization.

Everett Jesse Harris,
529 Norton Avenue
Kansas City, Missouri 64124



Straighten Up

Brother,
You know I love you
Why do you act this way?
You make me hurt so bad inside
Making me cry and worry so.
You fool.
You jive-ass fool, don't you know I care?
You fight with your brother
You drink and you brawl
You wind up in jail & feeling depressed
Feeling so lonely, frightened & confused
You knew I was there & loved you.
Why didn't you call me?

— Wah-zin-ak

An Old Lie

There is no lie, like an old lie
As long as the rivers shall flow
And the grass shall grow
Is the whites oldest lie
In America

— John Keeshig



Spirit Rock (Medicine)

I am a rock
I've seen life and death
I've felt happiness, sorrow and hurt
I live a rock's life
I'm a part of our Mother Earth
I've felt her heart beat on mine
I've felt her pain
I've felt her joy
I live a rock's life
I'm a part of our Father, the Great Mystery
I've felt his grief
I've felt his wisdom
I've seen his creations, my brothers
the animals ... the birds ... the talking
rivers and winds ... the trees
and everything upon the earth
and everything in the universe

I am a cousin of the stars
I can talk if you talk to me
I will listen ... if you wish to speak
I can give help ... if you need help
but do me no harm, because
my feelings are as yours
I am filled with power to heal ...
but you will have to seek it
You may think I am only a rock ...
who lies in the silence on the
dampness of the "ground"
But I am not,
I am a part of Life
I am Alive ... to those who care
I am here to help.

— Cesspooch
(Dancing Eagle Plume)
12/18/73

LIFE IS A CIRCLE

Life is a circle
it goes from left to right
south, west, north, east
And then to the earth and sky

Life is a circle
it starts in the south
for is not the south
the source of life
did not Black Elk
truly receive the flowering stick
from the fourth Grandmother

Life is a circle
after the first comes the second
which is to the right
for does not man
follow the setting sun of his life
And does not the sun set in the west

Life is a circle
the third is to the right also
when man grows old, does he not grow cold too
and is not the north cold
and where the white hairs are

Life is a circle
fourth is also to the right
if man does not make the circle short
he arrives at the source of light and understanding
which is the east
for in the east there is continually light

Life is a circle
fifth is to Mother earth
where the flesh goes back from whence it came

Life is a circle
sixth is that which the spirit makes alone
and it is to the sky
Because Life is a CIRCLE

John Keeshig
of the Ojibwa Nation



Loneliness

I've known loneliness
for a long long time.
Ain't looking for a friend
Ain't looking for a man
Ain't looking for a home, either.

Just don't know
What will ease my soul
Aching for something
That I can't describe
Wanting something
that I've never had ...
... freedom

— Wah-zin-ak



In The Shallows

I have had tomorrow
Stripped from
My soul,
When all seemed
Certain,
The future
No longer clutters
My mind,
Because there is
None.

Buried like
a dog's old bone
Discarded
To be dug
At leisure
At their convenience,
You didn't fit
The scheme
Of Things,
The shallows have overtaken the
dreams.

— Barbara Booth

it is finished
so I sit and
watch the sands
of civilization

slip through my
fingers—

it is finished
and the dead
are but memories
left us in songs—

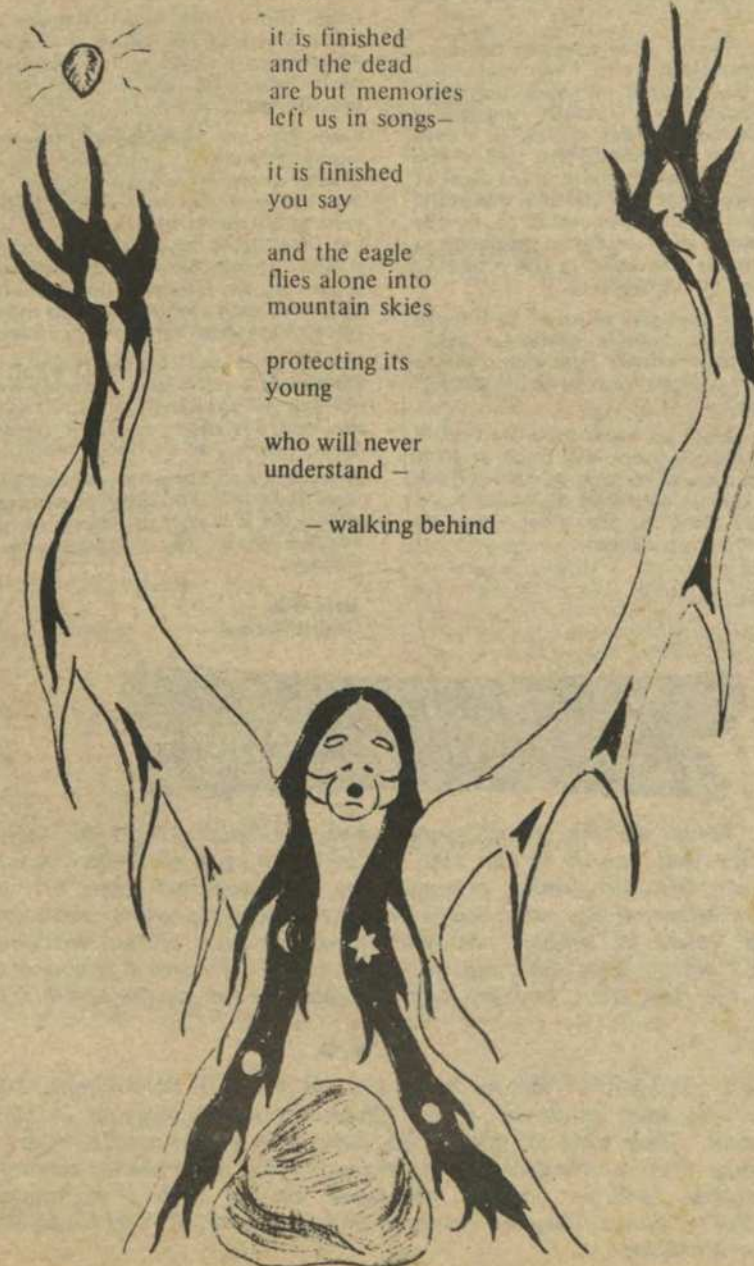
it is finished
you say

and the eagle
flies alone into
mountain skies

protecting its
young

who will never
understand —

— walking behind



i walk tonight and when
my step is interrupted
by the boulder strewn
flats i hear a silent
scream echoed in the
stillness of this montana
night, and mother earth
speaks with low harsh
words covered with black
coal dust and her tears,
the boulders, are black
and she asks why, my
people, i am here for
you and i can only
cough for the dust is in
the air and i walk away
without an answer and i
think of what they say
sweet medicine said and
i am afraid.

—Lewis Beauchamp
Montana State Prison
April 27, 1974